

# NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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# The National Municipal Review

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## The Boston Conference

**T**HE contradictory and charming city of Boston, place of extraordinary extremes where they say their politicians are more Curley than crooked, was the scene of the National Conference on Government in November.

It was the third time the conference had been held there, the others having been in 1902 and 1924. Physically, Boston looked pretty much the same as it did the other times, which was an asset in the minds of many who were delighted by the graceful way the city carried its age and historical significance.

But in spirit there was a difference. Back in 1924, Mayor Curley had addressed the conference. This time he wasn't invited (he's pretty busy, anyway, mending fences in the hope of preventing the people from adopting what in Massachusetts they call "Plan E," which provides the council-manager plan and proportional representation; and any spoils politician knows how bad that combination is—for him).

The spirit is different in that the citizenry has already revolted sufficiently to hammer through the last legislature a bill giving them the right, at long last, to decide for themselves what form of government they shall have; a right denied Bostonians when it was extended to other cities some years ago.

Back in 1924 Boston was suffering

acutely from suburbanitis, the symptoms of which are the decay of the hemmed-in central cities as good citizens move to outlying areas. Today this condition is infinitely worse, about as bad as can be found.

These and other factors made Boston an ideal place for a conference which came to grips with some of the toughest problems of practical citizenship.

How to turn the rascals out of city hall; how to put local government on a business basis and make it more human than before; how to find money for decent local services without bankrupting the taxpayers; how to reconcile the mother city and her obstreperous children of suburbia; how to get rid of double talk and double dealing in politics; how to make politics safe for democracy and every citizen a leader in making his city the kind of home town he would really like it to be—these are some of the problems tackled at the conference, with vigor, determination and right good will.

Of course, they're not solved. There's still the job to do in Boston and every other city and town and state throughout the land. But the conference gave encouragement, charts and marching orders to more civic soldiers than anybody counted. And we know they'll be passing on the ammunition to thousands of others for months and years to come.

## Politicians in Retreat

IN THE 1938 *Municipal Year Book*, the first in which municipal charters having nonpartisan council elections were counted, 863—or 51 per cent—of 1686 cities over 5000 in population reported nonpartisan versus 823 partisan.

In 1948, of 1956 cities, 1128—57 per cent—reported nonpartisan versus 828 partisan.

In that period use of the council-manager plan (82 per cent nonpartisan) nearly trebled to account for almost all the swing, since it must be remembered that commonly such adoption added to one list also reduces the other. Of the 78 (18 per cent) council-manager cities with partisan elections in 1948, 25 were in Pennsylvania.

Nonpartisan elections prevail in every one of the seven population classes, the highest ratio being 73.9 per cent in the 23 cities of 250,000 to 500,000. Geographically, they are less common in the east; all but unheard of in Pennsylvania and universal in California.

Not many of the nonpartisan elections mask a partisan reality. The device accomplishes its intention in most cities and fails to disperse both national party blocs only in metropolitan areas for reasons inherent in mere size of the electoral units; when electorates get too big they become hard to canvass effectively by individual or voluntary committee improvisations and the trained

organized standing armies of the national parties retain great power, as in Boston.

With a majority of our cities nonpartisan, it becomes harder for local politicians to call the idea a novelty and prate piously of the imaginary virtues of the two-party system in municipal affairs. The two-party system is actually a stale one-party system in all jurisdictions except those few that happen to be closely balanced. The "battles" between the two city committees usually are one-sided and meaningless.

The processes of selection are obscure even with direct primaries and, in endless cases, nomination is equivalent to election, leaving the successful nominees deep in debt to the ticket-makers. Depriving the ticket-makers of the magic label "Republican" and "Democratic" has often disclosed that they really have trivial personal followings, and voters, relieved of any implication of apostasy to their traditional labels, proceed to follow the merits within and across party lines with easy freedom.

But even in medium and small cities with nonpartisan ballots the old commandments stand: the ballot must be short and the elective offices must all be important lest the voter come up against a discovery that he has in some contests no guidance on the ballot to accept and no opinion of his own to express!

# Where Are the Leaders?

*Successful people challenged as having greater obligation to take responsibility for brand of politics in home town.*

By CHARLES EDISON\*

**I**T HAS always been an uphill fight for freedom, for the dignity of the individual, for the right of men to rule themselves against those who would enslave and degrade their fellow men.

The cause for which the National Conference on Government is being held is essentially the same cause for which men and women founded this city of Boston and later fought for their right to govern it themselves. No man with eyes to see can doubt that this cause is in gravest peril today, just 328 years after the Pilgrims landed on the edge of Massachusetts Bay.

The obvious danger comes from overseas, from lands which have submitted to a modern tyranny more nearly absolute than any against which our forefathers fought here or in the home lands whence they came. It is, moreover, a tyranny which in various forms in the last generation has beguiled and bemused many good people with false fronts, smooth promises and misappropriated labels like "democracy," "humanity," and "peace."

But it is not the menace of any foreign grown "ism" or autocracy about which I would warn you. The

greater enemy is something much more insidious, much more dangerous, much nearer home. It is our own civic and political sins, potentially deadly sins of omission and commission, which we must overcome if we are to carry the great promise of historic America safely through this generation of trouble.

It is not in the American tradition or temper to be afraid of any foreign power or combination of powers, however formidable. In the early days of the republic we sometimes fought against apparently unbeatable odds. We did so without fear of the outcome because we were confident of the rightness of our cause and the certainty of our destiny.

Now we are the richest, most powerful people on earth, with the most spectacular record of success behind us, and perhaps the best strategic location on the face of the globe. Yet we are sore afraid and our fear leads us to such fits and starts in the conduct of foreign affairs and such doubts about our internal strength that peoples less fortunately situated wonder what can be the matter with us.

A basic trouble is with our conscience, our civic conscience if you will, which alone could seriously disturb a great people at the peak of its material strength.

Why is our civic conscience troubled? We have only to look about us to see how far short we are in so many ways of living up to the re-

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\*Mr. Edison, president of the National Municipal League for the past two years, former governor of New Jersey, was re-elected president at the 1948 National Conference on Government in Boston. This article is his presidential address delivered November 23.

requirements of the democracy which we profess and which we commend to other people. On November 2 the ballot boxes were opened and ballots were counted for a man to occupy the most powerful and most important public office in the world—the presidency of the United States. It is estimated that there are at least 90,000,000 persons in this country who are entitled to vote. Only 47,000,000 of them voted. At least 43,000,000 did not. Think of it, 43,000,000 people did not trouble to exercise their constitutional right to share in this election.

### Why Apathy

Why did so many people stay away from the polls? Why did the experts tell us for weeks before election that there was a great boredom in the land?

There are at least two reasons which we'd better look at and ponder and do something about. The first is political double talk. The second is the political double standard.

We complain about the double talk of the politicians behind the iron curtain in Eastern Europe. Honestly, they don't have much of an edge on the double talk which has become the accepted jargon of the typical American party platform.

Even more distressing is double talking or mumble talking by many candidates themselves. So inveterate has become the habit of using words to hide rather than to convey meaning that voters often can't believe their ears when a candidate talks to them straight from the shoulder in words of single purpose. Moreover, the ambiguous language of the candi-

date is frequently belied by the platform, the party record or even the candidate's own past performance.

So people have learned to take their campaigns and their candidates with a shrug and many grains of salt. And the easy way for about half the people is to say, "It's all spinach," and have none of it.

### Political Double Standard

Even more depressing to our democratic morale is the political double standard. This is best illustrated by the vast gap between the lofty sentiments commonly expressed on nation-wide hookups and the brutally earthy talk of the political club house in the third ward. The difference might not be so disturbing if it weren't for the fact that the two kinds of talk frequently come simultaneously from the two sides of the same mouths. Where is the candidate for any major office who has failed to seek the support of characters whom no self-respecting citizen would think of admitting to his own home. The sad truth is that both parties are infested with plunderbunds known as local political machines and petty tyrants known as bosses. Everyone knows it and wonders how the candidate can be as good as he sounds if he must curry favor with such creatures.

Still more disturbing to the equilibrium of the voter is the spectacle of the esteemed candidate for governor or president appealing for votes not only for himself but also "for the whole ticket," including persons notoriously corrupt, incompetent, antagonistic to the stated objectives of the candidate, contemptuous of the

public, and altogether unfit for any public responsibility. I am sorry to say I know of few candidates, whether for the presidency or for lesser offices, who have not been guilty of asking their fellow citizens to vote for persons whom no honest man or woman could recommend for the most menial private employment. But I believe that a candidate for high office, to be worthy of being elected, must have the courage and honesty to denounce and pursue with equal vigor villainy in his own party as well as the other party.

The recent campaign was not very different from other national and state elections in recent years in the amount of double talking or the prevalence of the double standard. If these things depressed or confused a few more people than sometimes, it was probably because of the growing sense that the old shoddy politics as usual simply will not do in the present crisis of democracy.

These things, I think, account for part of the 43,000,000 Americans who stayed away from the polls in the recent election. They also forced many of those who did vote to move to the polls on reluctant feet, with heavy hearts, with confusion in their minds and guilt on their consciences. No wonder as a people, in our dealings with other peoples, great and small, we show signs of the split personality of one at war with himself.

If we are to move forward once again with confidence toward the goal long ago set for us, we must give up the luxury of the political double life. We must give up the luxury of excusing ourselves for practices utterly in-

compatible with our long range objectives. We must give up the luxury of personal inaction in the face of national sins. We must take vigorous and determined action to cast out of our public life no less than seven deadly sins. These are not precisely the seven deadly sins of the early theologians but the identity or similarity of some of them will be recognized.

### The Deadly Sins

First, is *indifference*, apathy, "I don't care," "I'm not interested in politics." In Germany "I'm not interested in politics" found himself in the concentration camp. "I'm not interested in politics" is looking for a free ride from his fellow citizens. I doubt if we can carry 43,000,000 free riders in American democracy.

Second, is like unto indifference. It is *laziness* or, in theological language, *sloth*. It is often the more honest word for "I don't care." The conniver, the political self-seeker, the demagogue, the tyrant, may grow fat but he does not attain his ends by laziness. Many a civic crusade has failed simply because the good citizens could not bring themselves to be as industrious in their own interest as the political connivers were in theirs.

Third, we have *cowardice*. We have the cowardice of the little man who will not vote in a party primary because he is afraid to have his party affiliations known. We have the cowardice of nice well mannered people who will not denounce villainy and corruption, or the sometimes more corrosive evils of incompetence and inadequacy, because they don't

ant to be considered unpleasant, they don't want to be known as reformers.

And we have the cowardice of the apparently powerful, of men in high places, in business, labor, industry, science, the professions, yes, even in institutions of education and religion dedicated to enlightening the mind and freeing the spirit of man. How many times have you heard one of these say, "I feel as strongly as you but, of course, in my position I can't be quoted" or "I know that the thing in city hall is ruining the reputation and jeopardizing the prosperity of the city but, of course, I don't care to say anything about it because you know what they would do to us."

Now, let's think about these unfortunate inheritors of the American revolution, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. They may pretend to be free but I submit that no man is free in this or any other land who cannot speak freely and throw his weight solidly for what he thinks is right for his city, his state and his country.

Fourth is *greed*, short-sighted selfishness which leads men to seek little personal gains through politics: exemption from the just exactions and regulations imposed for the common good or legislation to promote a private privilege rather than a public purpose. Sometimes big stakes are played, but more often the favor or the benefit sought may seem a little thing, a parking ticket fixed, an infraction done lightly. However little, immediately puts the seeker or the recipient in the power, if not altogether in the class, of those engaged

full time in the business of perverting democratic government to their strictly private ends.

Fifth, we have *perverted* or *misdirected loyalty*. I believe we all should seek to ally ourselves with one or another of the recognized political parties. But some of us, I think, attach ourselves too closely to the party of our choice or to a particular figure in that party. Many a vicious political machine has been kept in power by the votes of the best people in the city simply because they had neither the imagination nor the sense of higher duty to denounce and combat villainy wherever it appears, even in their own party, perhaps among members of their own club, social set, or business circle.

#### 'Politics a Dirty Business'

Sixth, there is *false pride*. It expresses itself in many smart aleck cracks: "I never talk politics," "Politics is a dirty business," "I didn't raise my boy to be a politician," "I teach children, I haven't time for politics." In the name of all that's American, how can anyone feel superior to politics? We achieved our independence by politics, we freed the slaves by politics, we have extended the benefits of modern knowledge of health, education, human welfare by politics. We are taxed by politics. Our business may expand or wither by politics. No state in history has ever existed without politics and if any of us are really too good for politics, we are either too good for this world or we'd better do something about our politics.

Last comes *cynicism*, close kin to false pride and perverted loyalty.

"Oh, you can't do anything about it," "It's always been that way and always will be." All I can say to the cynic who really believes that is that there is no hope for him or for any society in which there are many of his kind.

What must we do to be saved? The answer is tough but simple. We must be politically honest with ourselves as we would be personally honest with our friends. We must look to the roots of democracy in our home towns, large and small. The tree of liberty can be no more healthy than the soil from which it grows. Men and women do not start their public careers in the Assembly of the United Nations or the senate or presidency of the United States, and work down to mayor, town councilman and party district leader. The American political ladder goes just the other way. So the essential ethics, folkways and motivations of American politics derive from the home town, not from some rarified atmosphere floating over the capitol dome in Washington.

#### Laws Won't Save

I have always been puzzled by people who thought that salvation was to be had simply by passing or unpassing a law in Congress or getting an order from the president. But I have often been shocked at the identity of some of the people who act as if they thought that. Believe it or not, the worst offenders in this regard are where you would least expect to find them—in the seats of the mighty in business, industry and finance.

They are people who invariably

denounce "federal centralization," "Washington bureaucracy" and the like, but whose behavior tends constantly to promote those very things. How? By studiously ignoring local affairs, for one thing. By failing to provide leadership, encouragement and the personal or corporate funds needed to support strong citizen organizations and voluntary and public services at the local level. By concentrating their own and others' attention on Washington, as a source of favors desired or of evils decried, so that local issues and the possibilities of effective self-help in the home town and home state are lost sight of.

Such conduct is like building a heavy superstructure without solid foundations. We simply cannot have good, responsible government in Washington, manned by good people, unless we pay first attention to politics and government in the home town. There is no use whatever in spending millions of dollars on national campaigns for the presidency if we are unwilling to spend enough money on local civic effort to keep the wellsprings of our system pure.

#### Civic Revivals

Where are the leaders for the grass roots civic revival which I verily believe we must have if the next generation is to enjoy the boon of freedom that we inherited? Fortunately they are already working among us. Let me call the roll of a few of the cities where honest and intelligent citizens have declared their independence and are fighting to win or preserve it.

Eight years ago the natural leadership of Kansas City lost its fear and

declared its independence of a foul political machine.

Last year, after enduring the plundering of political machines—of both parties, mind you—Chicago turned desperately to a courageous and honest businessman to help that lusty city turn away from a disgraceful political past.

Philadelphia is being shaken today by a political scandal of huge proportions. The people of good will in one of the cities which helps to give us our rich historical heritage will say, let us hope, fashioning a new cradle of liberty.

Out on the west coast the people of Portland, Oregon, recently overwhelmingly elected a capable woman to a clearcut good government platform. She wasn't elected just because she's a woman or for any other fanciful reason. She has great experience and she has a program. She pledges that she will clean up vicious influences and that she will seek an efficient form of government for her city.

Dignified, quiet old Richmond cleaned up a distressing situation last year—a situation caused only by citizen indifference and neglect. For many years only 3 per cent of the voters bothered to vote in municipal elections. That 3 per cent was about the same as the number of people on the city payroll. What an inbred situation. But the citizens did awaken to their peril and, led by fine, effective businessmen (the kind who in too many cities are afraid to stick out their necks) overwhelmingly adopted a modern, workable system of government that should minimize the baneful effects of partisanship, prevent millions of waste over the

years and, most important of all, revive people's faith in the ideal of self-government.

In October 700 prominent people attended a birthday party in Cincinnati to mark the 70th birthday of a fellow citizen, Murray Seasongood, a man whose entire adult life won him the highest of all titles, "The Good Citizen." Although many national honors have come to him, in politics he concentrated on the task of awakening his own city, and by its example, giving people like him in other cities the courage to fight against evil. Murray Seasongood did not know the meaning of fear when he, with a few others, faced a vicious, predatory, vengeful, dangerous political machine 25 years ago.

What Seasongood and Charles P. Taft and Henry Bentley and others did for their own city of Cincinnati has, by its inspiration and example, helped scores of other cities to follow the road to good government and responsible citizenship.

Why, even in Boston where good people speak longingly of Plan E, they refer also to "the Cincinnati Plan." And well they might. In Boston or any other big city, what it takes to win back our heedlessly sacrificed birthright of freedom is a group of fine men and women who are not afraid.

These people have shown the straight, sure road to the ultimate promise of American life. It is for each and every one of us to follow in the footsteps of the courageous civic fighters of these and hundreds of other communities. It is a tough road, but if they have travelled it so can we and all other Americans worthy

of their birthright. The road is not unmarked. Directions and help are available to any one who asks for them.

If you meet someone who is looking for directions, put him in touch with the National Municipal League, show him some League-literature, including the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, and try to get him for the good of his civic soul to become a member of the League. This is not advertising. It is proselytizing, pure and simple, and therefore a major obligation of your citizenship.

We all need the mental and moral reinforcement which we can get only through association and regular communication with others enlisted in the same cause. When I find a better, more satisfying, source of help for the civic battle, I'll join it and let you know about it right away.

### The Good Citizen

Here is just one example of the kind of help I am always getting from the REVIEW. In the September number there was a reprint from the *Seattle Municipal News*, weekly publication of the Seattle Municipal League, one of the most effective organizations for all out local citizenship in the country, called "The Nine Promises of a Good Citizen." These nine promises are practical, yet perfectly pitched to the high level of civic responsibility which the times require of us:

1. I will vote at all elections. I will inform myself on candidates and issues and will use my greatest influence to see that honest and capable officials are elected. I will accept public office when I can serve

my community or my country thereby.

2. I will serve on a jury when asked.

3. I will respect and obey the laws. I will assist public officials in preventing crime and the courts in giving evidence.

4. I will pay my taxes understandingly (if not cheerfully).

5. I will work for peace but will dutifully accept my responsibilities in time of war and will respect the flag.

6. In thought, expression and action, at home, at school and in all my contacts, I will avoid any group prejudice, based on class, race or religion.

7. I will support our system of free public education by doing everything I can to improve the schools in my own community.

8. I will try to make my community a better place in which to live.

9. I will practice and teach the principles of good citizenship right in my own home.

Anyone who lives up to these nine promises will have no time in his day nor room in his heart for any of the seven deadly civic sins. And if we all begin living up to them there will be a speedy end to double talk and the double standard in politics.

However, I want to add two more promises, both implicit in the list of nine, but both worth more explicit statement.

The first: "I will join a political party and work to make it both an honest expression of my political convictions and a force for good government. I will never put party above

y or country nor condone evil in the name of party regularity."

The second: "Party is not enough, I will join and work with fellow townsmen in nonpartisan effort for those principles of good government and clean politics upon which all honest citizens, regardless of party, could unite. I will pay my full share at the cost of effective nonpartisan citizen organization." If you live in Boston, this might be translated in part: "I will join the Plan E for Boston Committee and work for a modified charter and a truly representative government for Boston." And if you are a woman, you might add, "I will also be active in the League of Women Voters."

This does not exhaust the possibilities, of course, but no matter where you are, we invite you to perpetual fellowship in the National Municipal League. This will keep you in constant touch with the great civic revival which is already under way.

This revival has been a generation in the making and it has been steadily gathering momentum since the war. We must see that it becomes an irresistible tide. There are hundreds of its leaders who are already at work. There are many thousands more potential ones. It is our job to interest and enroll them. Every American citizen is a potential leader

of some consequence in his home town or neighborhood. Some leadership, some exertion of influence on one's fellows is one of the obligations of citizenship. The right to the secret ballot does not include the right to be secretive about one's fundamental convictions on right and wrong in either public or private affairs.

The obligation of civic leadership rests most heavily on those whose attainments have made them leaders in other walks of life. It is impossible to conduct any important undertaking—business, cultural, religious or social—in a water tight compartment isolated from contact with or concern for government and politics. Good government, clean politics and democratic liberty are necessary to the satisfactory pursuit of any important enterprise or activity. We may think we needn't be bothered, but unless others bother for us we'll learn better, when it is too late.

So no man is a responsible leader in business or finance or law or industry or labor or education or religion or even in the arts who does not assume heavy responsibility for the tone and character of politics and government in his home town. When this rule is universally followed there will not be the slightest doubt about the future of our country and our way of life, and the safety of both of them in this world.

# A Job for Every Teacher

*No new courses needed to make better citizens, educator says; we must bring out civic values in those now taught.*

By CHARLES C. BUELL\*

FOR YEARS past school authorities have sincerely and, at times, flamboyantly proclaimed that making better citizens out of our boys and girls is the primary obligation of American educators. No one, I am sure, will quarrel with this worthy ambition.

Furthermore, if these conscientious authorities actually play as good a game as they talk, no sacred cows will be distressed if we ask them how they are coming along. After all, the American educator is, in a sense, a public servant, and the American people themselves have recently evidenced approval of the old saw, "I'm from Missouri." Let us, therefore, take a brief, critical and unbiased look at the field of civic education, the making of better citizens, particularly in our elementary and secondary schools.

Immediately following World War I came the great Americanization movement. Prodded into action by popular sentiment, whole school systems not only gave their enthusiastic support to inoculating newer immigrants with the advantages and glamour of American citizenship, but they also went on happily and indus-

triously to give the same needle to the native born. "Citizenship" became the watchword and the slogan of the 1920s, a period which witnessed the inception, development and, in some instances, the passing of many an educational experiment designed primarily to extoll citizenship.

Much that was good came out of these so-called movements, but the process lacked direction, the picture lacked design. While there was enthusiasm aplenty, educators seemed to think that the problem of making better citizens of our boys and girls was a rather simple one. One only needed, they thought, a new plan, a new technique of teaching, or a new theory, plus, of course, a 100 per cent bullish point of view in regard to the future of the U. S. A.

It is interesting to speculate as to what happened to the word "democracy" in this period. The term was used often enough, but did our youngsters get the impression that it was a very meaningful word? I am afraid not.

It took a great depression, disturbing events abroad and the dramatic advent of the New Deal before democracy supplanted citizenship in the center ring. When government, our own democratic government, began to play a vital part in the lives of all of us, it was quite natural that the general public should evidence a keen interest in this comparatively new state of affairs.

\*Mr. Buell is head of the Department of Public Affairs at St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire, and is a member of the staff of the Civic Education Project of which he writes.

This article is made up of excerpts from Mr. Buell's address at the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League, Boston, November 22, 1948.

To satisfy this healthy curiosity, books on the principles of democracy, on education for democracy and on democracy past, present and future, tumbled from the presses in a never ending stream. Pamphlets by the hundred flooded the mails, educational journals produced supplements, and there were meetings, conventions and conferences everywhere.

It was not long before school administrators and trustees, school boards and local politicians, began to prick up their ears. Most important of all, parents and the general public began to beat paths to the doors of our nation's teachers, particularly social science teachers. Being citizens of a democracy, these people proceeded to exercise their inalienable right to express their various conceptions of democracy—social, political and economic.

When free use of the first amendment had relieved their pent-up emotions, however, invariably there came this question: What are you teachers going to do about it? The answer was obvious. We rediscovered democracy, or rather we found out what an important role democracy might play in the teaching of the social sciences at all age levels. A brief examination of how we teachers used this discovery is well worth the time.

The 1930s, although they apparently offered limitless opportunities, were, for teachers, hard and often trying years. Jobs were scarce; salaries were being cut. It must also be remembered that the New Deal had brought into sharp focus a number of controversial issues which widened perceptibly the gap between devotees of democracy past and disciples of

democracy to come. Unhappily almost every teacher in the country had to think twice before he broached a timely topic upon which opinions differed sharply. A few teachers lost their jobs because they had the courage to present two sides of a question or, in some instances, the other side. These are excuses, good excuses to be sure, but let us see if they justify some of the things we teachers actually did prior to World War II.

A few of us closed the door, put up the shutters, climbed into bed, pulled the covers over our heads, and prayed fervently that we might dream of the good old days when a teacher might hang his hat on someone else's textbook and get away with it until the age of retirement. A few cloistered beings continued to teach the moral of the cherry tree and the principles of *laissez-faire* with the slavish zeal and fanatical prejudice of a ward heeler.

#### What We've Done

Some enthusiastic souls advocated scrapping the old curriculum and erecting in its place a brand new shiny edifice based entirely upon the social sciences.

Some of us dressed our windows gaudily with large and expensive assembly programs, with well advertised and well chaperoned expeditions to various points of interest and with amateurish attempts at vocational guidance which seldom went beyond inviting parents and local celebrities to recite their trials and triumphs plus, of course, a prompted plug for democracy.

A few of us had the temerity to experiment with new courses, new

techniques and new methods of teaching. We all rode our own little hobbies and rode them hard, occasionally looking over our shoulders apprehensively to see if some new idea was threatening our security, more often keeping a wary eye alert for obstacles and brickbats. It was another frantic period during which we strove sincerely but not always intelligently to satisfy the ever-growing demand for a fuller comprehension of our democratic way of life. Much that was good evolved from our helter-skelter efforts. Teachers stepped down from the impregnable security of their lecture platforms into the give and take atmosphere of round table discussion, and found the experience to be worthwhile and refreshing. Student participation, by no means an innovation, came into its own. Activity programs mushroomed over night.

Even school administrators, formerly content with personnel and product, began to stir uneasily and to wonder if some of the answers might not be found outside their ivory towers. Wheels revolved, considerable mud was churned and considerable progress was made. Our intentions and immediate results were good, but our execution still lacked purpose and cohesion.

World War II and the uncertainties of recent years have provided all teachers with even greater opportunities and responsibilities. This fact is evident to all of us. We are confronted with more and more students eager to learn; enrollments in contemporary affairs and problems of democracy courses are growing by leaps and bounds; world history

courses are enjoying greater popularity; junior town meeting groups are springing up in communities all over the country. There is no doubt about the fact that students today are far more interested in what goes on, both at home and abroad, than they have been in the past.

This is all to the good, but is it enough? Will an increased interest in contemporary affairs, a greater knowledge of domestic and foreign problems and a somewhat improved technique in approaching these problems necessarily produce better citizens? This interest, knowledge and improved know-how will be very helpful, but do you not know many well informed and clever people who fail completely to qualify as good citizens? Of course you do.

### What Is Good Citizenship?

We educators must first make up our minds what we mean by good citizenship, and then we must let our conclusions be widely known. Second, we must sincerely and thoughtfully come to grips with the more difficult problem of how we may best achieve this goal.

These two statements may sound elementary but the truth of the matter is this: Far too many of our educational authorities have not had the intellectual fortitude to determine what civic education includes and involves. In even fewer instances have they had the gumption to put into wholesale practice the conclusions which a few of them may have reached. Consequently, we teachers have wishfully supposed that almost anything we teach in the schools, if done in an acceptable fashion, will

duce better citizens. This supposition simply is not true.

Civic education is a field the source of which has been but barely scratched. It is not a separate field to be explored and taught by a group of specialists. It is a field in which every teacher must have some skill and utilize that skill. Civic education, as defined by a man who has devoted the best years of his life to its advancement, "includes and involves those teachings, that type of teaching method, those student activities, those administrative and supervisory procedures—which the school may utilize purposively, to make for better living together in the democratic way; or [synonymously] to develop better civic behaviors."<sup>1</sup>

#### Concern for Civic Education

This definition, and I know no better one, implies that civic education must become the concern of every school administrator and every teacher, in every subject and in every grade. Furthermore, these administrators and teachers must give their best thought to the four approaches to civic education mentioned in the definition. (Let there be no mistake about it, the job will be difficult and time consuming.)

They must select for emphasis those materials in the various subjects which lend themselves most readily to a better appreciation and understanding of desirable civic behaviors. They must recommend those teaching methods which are most adaptable to the materials being used.

<sup>1</sup>*For Us the Living*, by John J. Mahoney, Harper and Brothers, New York, page 39.

They must devise and set up student activity programs which will permit pupils to practice democracy. Finally, and this is terribly important, they must be sure that their own administrative procedures in the front office as well as in the classroom square effectively with "better living together in the democratic way."

All this is easy to say and extremely hard to do. Most educators will accept the goal of civic education as expressed in the definition but, when it comes to the four approaches, many a bushy administrative eyebrow will rise, many a long pedagogical nose will twitch.

To inaugurate a full blown program of civic education such as envisaged will take time, patience and imagination. Innumerable problems must be solved; many barriers must be hurdled. These problems fall naturally into two groups, those involving personnel and those primarily associated with teaching. Let us select one or two outstanding illustrations in the personnel category just to show the magnitude of the task which will face school authorities when it comes to assembling a group which will want to emphasize desirable civic behaviors and is capable of so doing.

What part, for example, would the football coach play in a civic education program? The football coach, whether teachers like it or not, is able to exert a tremendous influence on the lives of the youngsters who play on his teams. I wish you could read the letters received by Dick Harlow, former Harvard coach, from his pupils who were serving in the armed services. Unfortunately, few men of

Harlow's caliber enter the coaching profession, particularly at the secondary school level. On the contrary, and I speak with considerable first hand knowledge on this subject, too many coaches are anything but pedigreed purveyors of all that is sweetness and light in the field of civic education. More often they know nothing except the sport they teach, not always that, and are more interested in their own advancement than in their players or in civic behaviors.

This unfortunate state of affairs is not caused entirely by the hysterical worship of the winner which is so typical of our dyed in the wool fan. Our physical education colleges and so-called coaching schools must share the blame. They have been sadly remiss in training their students in the art of producing better citizens.

Nor are our school administrators blameless. They have often appointed to key athletic posts men to whom we would most reluctantly expose our own children. Much can be done for the cause of civic education by the athletic coach, much remains to be done in preparing and selecting him for the job.

Another personnel problem can be traced directly to our schools of education. It was pointed out recently that an examination of the titles of theses being prepared for the doctorate in education in schools all over the country indicated that only one and a half per cent of the seven hundred odd titles listed could, by the wildest stretch of the imagination, be connected with the field of civic education.

The recipients of these doctorates are the embryo school administrators

of the future. Will any of them be sufficiently sensitive to the particular school environment into which they may be catapulted to adopt administrative procedures which will square with the democratic way of life as practiced by the community in question? Will they even know what procedures have been successfully tried? One need not elaborate on this point.

But let us turn now to those problems which are intimately connected with the classroom, to those teachings, those teaching methods and those activity programs which can be used purposively to develop better civic behaviors. Here, as has already been indicated, considerable spade work has been done by individuals all over the country since as far back as the 1920s. The results of their labors and experiments are well worth mature consideration and careful study.

#### Material Available

It is to be sincerely regretted that these products of first rate scholarship, based quite often on wide teaching experience, are not generally known to all teachers throughout the country. There are three reasons for this: (1) not all their products are easy to procure; (2) they consist in many instances of materials primarily designed for teacher use or materials which demand considerable time on the part of the teacher before they may be used in the classroom; (3) the average overworked teacher simply has not got the time to do the many things he or she should do in order to keep abreast of present day trends.

One could write a volume on this

Subject alone. However, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, there has started this fall an educational project which may possibly aid tremendously in solving the teaching problems sketched above; it may even have a profound effect upon the personnel problems which have also been described.

This undertaking is entitled "A Project in Civic Education" and is under the direction of John J. Mahoney, professor of education emeritus, Boston University, and former director of the Harvard-Boston University Courses for Teachers, and Henry W. Holmes, former dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education and professor emeritus. Professor Mahoney and Dean Holmes have collected a full time staff of seven, a secretary and six teachers, who, with the help of other teachers and numerous consultants, expect to produce in the next three years "materials for teaching, grades one through twelve, in public and private schools throughout the United States, these materials to be chosen and arranged so as to be useful in developing civic intelligence and in stimulating devotion to the democratic way of life."

#### Education Group Plans

Please note the expression "materials useful for teaching." They mean materials which can be placed directly in the hands of the students as well as materials which can be used by the teachers. They mean materials which can be used in every subject and every grade, thereby relieving the pressure upon the overworked classroom leader.

This civic education group does not propose to introduce a new subject or a new course, thus adding to the confusion and overcrowding of the school program. It is their conviction that all school authorities and teachers can find occasion to emphasize civic attitudes and understandings; that no subject taught in the schools, no school activity, is barren of opportunity for civic learning. They intend to show teachers where, and how they can bring out the civic values of courses already being taught, and to place materials in their hands for so doing.

The Educational Research Corporation has approved the project, accepted the responsibility for all expenditures, and provided adequate quarters in its building in Cambridge. Sufficient funds were obtained to warrant the launching of the project this fall. Work has commenced.

This may sound like old stuff, and some complacent souls will shrug their shoulders. It isn't old stuff; it is entirely new in two respects. In the first place, the materials aim to keep constantly before the minds of pupils and teachers a carefully selected list of political, social and economic civic objectives—appreciation of the rights, privileges and protections which political democracy ensures, better political leadership, intergroup understanding, respect and good will, economic democracy (needed understandings and attitudes), to mention a few.

In the second place, these materials aim to make civic education the business of every school administrator and every teacher in every

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# Inside Story of Kansas City

*Famed city manager tells steps by which bossism's blight was cured and citizen fear of political tyranny ended.*

By L. P. COOKINGHAM\*

**T**HE history of the government of Kansas City prior to 1940 is well known. It has taken a long time, however, to live down the reputation the city acquired over a period of almost 50 years.

The council-manager plan of government was adopted in Kansas City in 1925 and became effective the following year. It was supported by a large group of citizens desiring the type of administration they anticipated under the council-manager plan as well as by the dominant political organization. This organization saw an opportunity to align itself with the forces for good government and, at the same time, to continue its power. It saw a chance to capture the city council at the first election and operate the city on the basis of the old spoils system regardless of the charter's principles.

At the first election the political organization did take over. It elected five out of nine members of the council and immediately appointed a city manager acceptable to it. At first the administration was hailed by the citizens as an improvement over

the old form of government. It was at least able to accomplish its programs in much shorter time and, during its years in office, provided the city with many worthwhile improvements. Of course, these improvements were made by favored contractors at heavy cost to the taxpayers.

At the same time many segments of the population did not fare so well and as years went on the administration became bold and despotic. A dictator ruled the town and sapped its vitality.

During the fourteen years of council-manager government under the domination of the machine, Kansas City was known as the one dark spot among manager cities.

The situation became so critical by 1939 that the administration was forced to take some measures to improve itself because of the weight of public sentiment against it. The city manager who had held office for thirteen years was forced by the council to resign. The mayor took matters in his own hands and began improvements which removed more than a thousand surplus employees from the payroll. He realized that if his administration was to be saved from financial bankruptcy and complete rejection by the voters strong steps must be taken.

The mayor realized also that an experienced manager should be selected who could take the crumbling remains of a once-powerful, politi-

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\*Mr. Cookingham, former president of the International City Managers' Association, was manager of Clawson, Plymouth and Saginaw, Michigan, before taking his present position as manager of Kansas City, Missouri, in 1940. This article, prepared as his address before the 1948 National Conference on Government, Boston, November 23, was read by Jerome Joffe, Kansas City utilities and legislative counsel, because of Mr. Cookingham's illness.

lly-dominated city administration and restore it to a point where there could be some degree of confidence placed in it by the citizens who were men on the march.

When his efforts to secure an experienced city manager were rejected by the council he resigned as mayor. His act caused rapid disintegration of the administration and by early 1940 reform forces became strong enough to upset the administration. After fourteen years of misrule the citizens' movement elected eight of the nine members of a council pledged to adherence to the principle and spirit of the charter.

#### Accepting a Challenge

Shortly after the new council was elected, and after a series of interviews, I was tendered the position of city manager. Because of the past history of Kansas City I did not expect to find an easy task laid out for me. The challenge offered, however, overshadowed any other inducements to undertake the job. The council was composed of high type business and professional men who were thoroughly indoctrinated with desire to provide the kind of government proposed by the charter. The charter appeared to be a good one. There was no reason why an outstanding job could not be accomplished.

It would take entirely too much time to tell all that we found upon taking office in Kansas City. The payrolls were overloaded, a \$20,000,000 current deficit confronted us, hundreds of the employees were not suited for the work they were attempting to do, and an antagonistic

attitude toward the new government prevailed throughout the city service.

In the first six months department heads removed hundreds of the old employees from the payrolls. Many of them had either been involved in vote fraud cases or in various other unsavory practices, or were entirely unqualified for their jobs.

One of the most encouraging signs of success of the new administration was the public's attitude toward the change. The new philosophy of government seemed to take hold immediately, and there was a wholehearted acceptance of the new administration. Although there is not now and has not been, except just previous to the election in 1940, a strong well organized citizens' movement, the voters rally to the citizens ticket at each city election.

The factor which has contributed most to the continuation of the citizens administration in office is the favorable attitude of our nationally famous newspaper, the *Kansas City Star*, toward the city administration. The *Star* is just as ready to criticize the council or city administration for any weaknesses which develop as it is to praise for improvements made. It would not be possible to maintain citizen interest or the continuity of our administration without the strong and vigorous support of this great publication.

Briefly, our objectives were establishment of the merit system on a firm basis, elimination of all favoritism, establishment of business methods, and a government conducted strictly in accordance with the provisions of the charter.

Some members of the council at

first seemed to feel we were progressing too rapidly towards these objectives and that this would not be accepted by the people because they had been so indoctrinated in the other way of doing the municipal job.

### **Jobs for the Faithful**

Hundreds of people who had fought long and faithfully for a new administration decided they wanted all the jobs in the city hall, and they wanted them without taking competitive examinations or following the principles established by the charter's merit provisions.

The charter provided for establishment of eligible lists, but did not require that appointments be made from the top of the list. This meant, of course, the passing grade could be put as low as necessary to get favorites on the eligible register, and then the appointing authority, through his own choice or because of pressures from the outside, could select anybody who had passed the examination.

In order to discontinue this practice, an administrative regulation was issued which required the appointing authority to take one of the top three on the eligible register. Some of the forces behind the good government movement did not like this regulation and vigorously opposed the manager's imposition of such a restriction. The rule was followed rigidly, however, and eligible lists were established for as many positions as it was possible to conduct examinations for in the first year.

In purchasing and in awarding contracts we adhered strictly to the provisions of the charter. Contracts

and bids were awarded to the lowest and best bidders. In many cases the stalwarts of the old administration were successful bidders. Of course, there was no way to refuse to contract with the lowest and best bidder and contracts and orders were placed accordingly, regardless of whether the contractor was for or against the administration.

Several members of the city council and leaders of the citizens' movement were skeptical about the outcome of the next city election because the administration had played no favorites in the award of contracts, the purchasing of material or the appointment of personnel. Where then would the support come from to reelect the city council? In the election of 1942, however, the first after the clean-up election of 1940, the citizens' administration was returned to office with a higher percentage of the total vote than previously.

Furthermore, two charter amendments submitted at that election were adopted by substantial majorities. One strengthened financial procedures, which had been sadly misused by the former administration, and the other provided a "Little Hatch Act," which prohibited city employees in the classified service from engaging in political activity, prohibited the solicitation of campaign funds from city employees and prohibited them from making campaign contributions.

Other improvements installed immediately were a new accounting system, modern budget practices and a complete mechanical tax billing and tax accounting system. The \$20,000,000 deficit was liquidated by pay-

ment of the legal claims, by refunding bonds for which no sinking fund had been set aside and by other means.

The physical plant of the city had been almost completely neglected. The prison farm was not a fit place to keep those unfortunate persons confined for ordinance violations. The administration immediately rehabilitated the buildings and organized a work program for the inmates, which has resulted in an income to the city of more than \$40,000 per year and has helped reestablish many of the inmates to a more useful life.

More than a million dollars has been spent in rehabilitating hospitals and improving services to the indigent sick of the city.

One of the most outstanding accomplishments was made in the war department which, prior to the change in administration, had employed 882 people. Personnel was immediately reduced to 400 and the department is now operating with 50 employees. Similar improvements were made throughout all departments, resulting in savings of upward of a million dollars per year in operating costs.

Because of the rise in the economic level since 1940 it is difficult to make direct comparisons between the cost of operating the city government prior to 1940 and since then. In my opinion, however, we are now operating the city at a cost of \$2,000,000 per year less than would have been the cost had the plan of operation prior to 1940 continued.

The job of selling the municipal program to the people was not an easy one. The mayor and council and

members of the administrative staff made hundreds of speeches throughout the city during the first year, and have continued this program to bring the government as close to the people as possible. We have never wavered from our theory that all the people, regardless of race, color, creed, geographical area, political affiliation or otherwise, are entitled to the same service. We do our best to see that they get it.

#### **Informing the Public**

Each year the city has prepared and circulated a comprehensive annual report of activities. Press and radio reporters attend all meetings of the city council and the administrative staff, securing background information needed to report intelligently the activities of the city government. The radio is used extensively in reporting to the people.

In doing the job of day-to-day administration we have kept our sights on the human aspects of government. We realize local government is the closest to the people. We have tried to instill in every city employee the philosophy of good municipal service. Employees know they are servants of the people and they are required to render efficient and courteous service.

Immediately upon taking office we installed a bureau of information and service on the first floor of city hall and manned it with a person able to handle any type of complaint concerning city government. The complaint is passed on to the proper department for the necessary action, and followed up to see that the service is rendered. The citizen is advised by mail of the action taken.

The organized recreation program has been greatly expanded. There was practically no such program in 1940. The appropriation that year was less than \$20,000. Now \$250,000 per year is spent on this activity for both juveniles and adults on a year-round basis.

During the summer a city-wide musical program of band and orchestra concerts is held. These programs are taken to the several districts of the city where they can be enjoyed by as many people as possible. It is not uncommon to have six or eight thousand people at one concert. We have tried to provide as much fun as possible for the people living in congested communities. Square dancing instruction is given to those who wish it, with about 25 square dance parties held each week. This is proving to be one of the most popular of the city's activities.

#### **Reaching All the People**

In 1943 the Community Service Division of the Welfare Department was organized. Its primary purpose is to interpret the city program to the several communities within the city and to bring to the attention of the city government the problems and needs of each community.

The community service activity was first conceived as a means of combating juvenile delinquency which was increasing at a rapid rate during the war years. It was concluded that the problem could not be adequately handled by the police and the social agencies—it was more of a problem of the neighborhood and the home. The approach, therefore, was through an agency which could get

down to the grass roots of the community and bring the problem to the attention of those who were closest to it.

We well understood how remote from the average person the city administration seemed to be. It appeared to him to be a big, complex organization collecting his taxes and regulating his life and habits sometimes more than he wants them regulated. Formerly his contact was through his precinct worker who could take care of most of his wants, even though this method of passing out service and favors was costly to the taxpayer. Under the new setup there were no precinct workers, especially those representing the administration then in office.

The city government wanted to serve its people well and was anxious for every citizen to maintain an interest in and be a part of the city government. The city was divided into eleven little cities of about 40,000 population each, and a community service worker assigned to each such district. The areas covered by each "community" followed generally the areas embraced in the high school districts.

The first step in establishing the community organization was to call together as many people as possible and to discuss with them the question of community organization, explaining the objectives to be accomplished. At the meeting a community council was formed and a president and officers elected. The community service worker was then assigned permanently to the council and the program began to function.

As previously stated, the original

ea of the program was to combat juvenile delinquency. Other needs were soon discovered. Community workers began to receive requests for service, improvements, information about the city government and many other items of civic concern. The workers transmitted the requests to various departments which rendered the desired service. Now every section of the city is served by community groups and widespread interest prevails in the city program with a high ratio of direct contact between citizens with the government.

One of the most useful functions of the community organization was the assistance rendered in developing the master plan of the city. As plans were in process of preparation, members of the planning staff went to each community and neighborhood with their suggestions and enlisted the advice and counsel of the citizens. There was an example of planning by the people rather than by the experts. Many good suggestions were received and incorporated in the master plan. After completion of the plan practically all the community councils were presented at the general hearings in order that they could be sure their ideas were incorporated in it.

Much to my surprise the several communities were relatively modest in their wants. They did not ask for more than they were able to pay for or did they compete too greatly between each other for the major projects which were to have city-wide use.

The city government has many occasions to get in touch with the community councils on problems involving their section of the city. For instance, it is proposed to re-route a

bus line, abandon a street car line and substitute buses, acquire a playground site, construct a major public improvement. The community councils are notified of the proposal by the community service worker, the plan is explained, the matter discussed and the ideas of the citizens received. The information is transmitted to the city council or representatives of the community councils appear at public hearings and express the views of their members to the council. This procedure has expedited many projects and has prevented much misunderstanding of council action and policy.

This is the way Kansas City has maintained two-way contact with its citizens. This is the way the city government has been brought closer to every citizen of the community. This is democracy in action.

The council-manager plan of government, with a legislative body sympathetic to it and a skilled administrative staff, can accomplish the objectives of nonpartisan, business-like government with greater ease and with less confusion than any other form of city government. This is axiomatic as, under that form of government, backed by a sound merit system and sufficient authority delegated to the chief administrative officer, all the tools of good administration can be placed in the hands of competent personnel who will use them in an efficient, business-like manner for the best interests of all the people. In no other form of city government is such a transformation so simple of accomplishment.

This briefly is the story of Kansas

(Continued on page 596)

# Opening Up Greater London

*New towns, neighborhoods, ring roads, green belts part of scheme to end metropolis' problems of congestion.*

By JAQUELINE TYRWHITT\*

THE TWO plans for the county of London and for Greater London, published in 1943 and 1944, have become historic documents. They represent a crystallization of planning theory. They bring together, in authoritative form, all the symbols that have become stereotyped clichés and figure in every planning scheme in almost every country, whether the plan is to remodel a huge metropolitan area or to build a new village.

The London plans enunciate in simple and dramatic form the most generally accepted lines of solution for the problems of the amorphous metropolitan area of the twentieth century. The general plan does not stand or fall by the exact implementation of any one of its parts. It represents, in outline, the application of a group of planning concepts to a particular area.

The plans are "advisory," that is, Sir Patrick Abercrombie was employed to prepare them for the consideration of the many local au-

thorities that comprise Greater London, of which the London County Council is the largest.

In general, the method of approach and the means of solution have been accepted by these local authorities and many parts are now being re-worked in detail with a view to their becoming a reality. Probably no part of the plan will be carried out exactly as indicated by Sir Patrick, but there is no doubt that it has determined the general pattern of the area's development for the next twenty years.

The two plans do not contain any new or radical philosophy or planning patterns. Decentralization, new towns, green belts, ring roads, have all formed part of the planner's jargon since the days of Ebenezer Howard and become known to Londoners through the building of Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City.

The neighborhood unit has likewise been discussed by planners for ten years or so and the theory has been given particular publicity in London by the emphatic reports of welfare workers, horrified by the social and economic consequences of the huge one-class housing estates which sprang up around London in the interwar years. Then, in the late 30s a prominent commissioner of police came out with a book advocating the planning of city "precincts" to be secluded from through

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\*Miss Tyrwhitt, director of the Association for Planning and Regional Reconstruction in London, is in the United States lecturing and teaching classes in planning at the New School for Social Research. She is associate member of the Town Planning Institute and the Institute of Landscape Architects and collaborated in the publication of *Ground Plan of Britain, Adopting Wartime Sites to Post-war Uses, Maps for the National Plan and Planning Prospect* (in press).

This article is Miss Tyrwhitt's address before the 1948 National Conference on Government, Boston, November 24.

traffic on the grounds of safety to human life.

Londoners, and the English people as a whole, have therefore been reasonably well prepared for the main features of Abercrombie's plans. The effect of war and bombing has given added urgency and weight to these concepts and the plans have been received with enthusiastic approval from the technical press and from the public at large.

### Why Scheme Is Popular

Although the war created a condition particularly favorable to public interest in the replanning of London, there is no doubt that the popularity of the scheme as a whole is due to the simplicity of its concepts and the fact that each of its main features has already received some popular sanction. These are:

*Neighborhoods.* Greater individuality, by some physical separation, is to be given to the many small towns and villages that have grown together and become merged in the conurbation of Greater London. This has had general popular approval though it has created tension in the local council chambers.

These communities, ranging up to 250,000 in population, are to be subdivided into neighborhood units of 5,000-10,000 persons, each with schools and shops and community center and planned at population densities ranging from 75 to 136 persons per acre. This sounds well and is considered an excellent way of re-building the heavily bombed East End of London.

This plan has created great interest among social workers, school

teachers and architects but no particular enthusiasm among the public at large, which has found the theory difficult to visualize in practice. In particular the general statement that over half a million people would have to leave the area of the London County Council has created academic satisfaction but individual nervousness. The fact that this area has been steadily losing population for a number of years and that nearly one and a half million people voluntarily moved out between the two wars has not been sufficiently well known.

Lewis Mumford's criticism of the London plan for its timidity was well founded. Almost certainly more than the 618,000 persons to be decentralized by the Abercrombie plan for the county of London could be expected to move out of their own accord were suitable houses available though, equally certainly, under prewar circumstances this voluntary movement could be expected to remain within the general range of the middle income groups.

*Ring Roads.* A series of concentric ring roads are provided to sort out London's traffic. These are simple to grasp and similar to the many by-pass roads built between the wars. Traffic engineers and some planners might show by diagrams and statistics that the ring road is seldom an effective solution, particularly for London, but their voice has not yet penetrated beyond technical groups and their solutions are less dramatically simple.

*Green Belt.* The green belt for London was officially accepted by

the London County Council before the war—but under legislation then current encroachment was only checked, not stopped. Abercrombie's plan extends the area from a ring of narrow park-like strips to a metropolitan green belt five miles deep, extending all round the built-up area and enfolding the more recent outer-suburban developments and a number of small towns and villages. In all of these further growth is to be stopped. Only outside this zone can new development take place, and only in the form of new towns or planned additions to existing towns. London and its green belt thus becomes enclosed in a circle of 40 to 45 miles in diameter.

#### **Green Belt Important**

This metropolitan green belt is probably the most important part of the whole plan and the most difficult feature to enforce. Almost every town and village in the zone has considered itself "ripe for development" and land has exchanged hands at prices based on that expectation.

The passing of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act has meant that land can in future be bought and sold only at its "present use value," i.e., on the assumption that it will continue to be used for the same general purpose. However, a clause permits payment of compensation to owners who have bought land at an enhanced value in reasonable expectation of developing it, and a large number of these claims are coming in from the London green belt area.

Also the London County Council

itself finds it more expeditious to build housing estates—public housing—on vacant peripheral land than on inner sites that must first be cleared.

The plan will remain and will be adhered to—in principle—but encroachments have already been made and more will come. This does not destroy the plan or even defy it. The acceptance of the principle has meant that every violation has had to be fought out in the open with public opinion definitely ranged on the side of the plan.

*New Towns.* Outside the green belt lies a band of "outer country" in which the plan shows many small towns, some of which are "selected for development" and the sites of ten new towns, almost all based on an existing village or small town. This outer country belt varies in width because of the shape of the somewhat arbitrarily determined Greater London area but all the sites selected for development by Abercrombie lie between 20 and 30 miles from the main core of London.

This pattern again has received popular approval in principle. It is in the line of general development. All the places chosen as sites of new towns had already received the attention of building speculators. The novelty was to suggest that, instead of an over-all speculative development of houses for sale to the middle income group, there should be a planned development, in specific areas, of towns providing a balance of houses for a wide range of income groups.

Establishment of new towns required new legislation and an inde-

pendent committee was appointed by the government "to consider the general questions of the establishment, development, organization and administration that will arise in the promotion of new towns in furtherance of a policy of planned decentralization from congested urban areas; and in accordance therewith to suggest guiding principles on which such towns should be established and developed as self-contained and balanced communities for work and living."

This committee, composed of about a dozen men and women representing a variety of interests, started to work in 1945 under the chairmanship of Lord Reith and produced three reports within a year—all of which are excellent reading.

The New Towns Act followed almost immediately and empowered the government to approve sites for new towns, after due inquiry, and to set up independent corporations to control the planning and development of each new town until it should become reasonably well established. The corporation will then be dissolved and the management and control of the town pass to an elected urban district council no different from any other of the hundreds of urban district councils up and down the country.

Sites of seven new towns around London have now been approved and seven corporations appointed. These are not all exactly on the sites suggested in the Greater London Plan but they are not greatly dissimilar. Paper work has begun on all seven, but site work only on a

few. This is because of the holdup on all reconstruction projects caused by the "national emergency." In other words, the terms of the American loan and the Marshall Plan make it necessary for all available men and materials to be concentrated upon development of export trade. Only "essential" housing, related to "essential" industries, can go forward.

The new towns around London do not meet this requirement as, in most cases, a prior (or contemporary) movement of industry is necessary. London, however, is not the only source of new towns. Sites have been approved near Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow. Some of these, and others planned in the northeast of England to re-house miners nearer to rapidly developing mining areas, are not held up in the same way.

Apart from the first rather spectacular outcry at Stevenage, the "designation" of the new towns sites has gone ahead reasonably smoothly. Stevenage is a small town of 5,000 people in the main line of development, around which several speculative development schemes were already under discussion. The expansion of its population tenfold, and the certainty that the newcomers would not all be in the middle income bracket, disconcerted both the local inhabitants and the local landowners, especially as the project was rather tactlessly bounced on them.

There is no doubt whatever that the local inhabitants stand to gain by the planned development of their town rather than by its unplanned

development, which was otherwise inevitable. It also became clear, after the 1947 act, that, as the land-owners would in any case not be able to sell their land to speculative builders at fancy prices, they stood to gain by having their land purchased at an arbitrated price by a corporation on which they were represented, and then developed in a manner to insure its maintaining a stable value.

These aspects become clearer as the new towns procedure develops, but the publicity given to the Stevenage case, and the lack of tact with which it was handled, has given a widespread but erroneous impression that new towns could be and are being foisted upon righteous country dwellers.

The new pattern for London is thus a pattern of limited and guided decentralization; an acceptance of existing trends and a loosening and aerating of a great metropolis. It does not solve the major problem of our generation, the future of great cities, but it should gradually make an existing amorphous and unlovely sprawl into a more convenient and pleasant series of urban communities.

### A JOB FOR EVERY TEACHER

(Continued from page 585)

grade and every subject. Furthermore, those lethargic citizens who believe implicitly in a policy of muddling through should realize that we have entering our schools this year, and for the next few years at least, the largest group of boys and girls in the history of our country. No sequence of history courses, no pro-

gram of school activities, no series of ceremonies will of themselves make these youngsters capable of better living together in the democratic way. It must be an all out effort by all educators, such as we have never had before, if our schools are to play their part in educating for democracy.

Professor Mahoney and Dean Holmes are on the right trail. Their Civic Education Project deserves real cooperation and support, not a faint patter of gloved hands but honest to goodness plugging by all parents and citizens interested in having our youngsters appreciate and understand the way of life which is ours today.

### STORY OF KANSAS CITY

(Continued from page 591)

City in the last eight years. The people are satisfied with it, I believe, because four times since the original cleanup election they have elected at least seven of the nine members of the council, pledged to continue the program of strict charter government.

No citizen has had sanctions applied against him, nor had any reason to fear any action on the part of any officer or employee of the city government. Citizens are living with a city government which is intensively interested in serving them well and guaranteeing them the privilege of living in a community where the human elements of governmental administration are always in the forefront. I have never seen a government so conscious of the desires and needs of its constituents as is the government of Kansas City. Yes, Kansas City still marches on!

# News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

## State Referenda Show Wide Variety

### *Ten Cities, Four Counties Adopt Council-Manager Plan*

**R**ANGING from bases of legislative representation to the number of men on train crews, and from birth control to succession after death, constitutional amendments and other propositions on numerous and varied subjects were passed upon by voters in many states on November 2. Certain amendments in several states were dealt with as separate items in this department; various others are mentioned here.

A few amendments dealt with requirements for voting and office-holding. Arkansas authorized the legislature to regulate registration for voting; Mississippi rejected a proposal to require voters to be of "good moral character," in the opinion of election commissions.

Several states voted on the closed shop union issue. Massachusetts and New Mexico defeated proposals to ban the closed shop, but in Arizona, where a 1946 closed shop amendment was under court attack, the voters approved a law to prohibit compulsion to join a labor union or to strike, and providing for injunctive relief against illegal acts and for damages. Massachusetts also defeated a requirement that union officials be elected by secret ballot at least annually and a prohibition against strikes not voted by a majority of the union's membership.

Many proposals concerned the sale of liquor. The 68-year-old prohibition amendment in Kansas was repealed,

leaving the question of liquor control in the hands of the legislature. Voters in the state of Washington permitted sale of liquor by the drink in hotels and places with restaurant facilities but a similar proposal was reported lost in Oregon. In California, Colorado and North and South Dakota various local option and sales proposals were defeated—North Dakota rejecting a proposal to legalize municipal liquor stores and its neighbor to the south rejecting an initiative measure to divorce liquor from food, and refusing by referendum to require that all whiskey sold in the state be at least three years old.

Bonuses for World War II veterans were approved in South Dakota, Louisiana, Iowa, Washington and apparently Minnesota, and in Indiana, if the legislature so provides. Missouri, Nebraska, Wisconsin and Oregon defeated bonus proposals, and North Dakota refused a levy for a veterans' rehabilitation fund.

Louisiana voted on 41 amendments to its already cumbersome constitution. Some of these were efforts by Governor Earl Long to add to the power of the state administration, especially as against the city of New Orleans; but they were not all successful. Final results will be reported next month.

New Mexico, besides defeating the closed shop ban, disapproved a proposed amendment to make the term for county officers four years with ineligibility for reelection until after another four years. However, the voters by a narrow margin adopted a similar amendment applying to the state executive officers. They also approved three other amendments: per-

mitting three-fifths of the members of each house of the legislature to certify an emergency to the governor and to call a special session if the governor fails to do so; providing for the fixing of salaries of legislative employees by the legislature at the beginning of each session (the salaries now being limited by the constitution); and providing for succession to the governorship in case of death or disability of the governor or governor-elect.

### ***California Defeats Senate Reapportionment***

The proposed constitutional amendment in California, which would have placed the state senate more nearly on an equal representation basis, failed of adoption at the November 2 election.

Other proposed amendments reported to have been defeated include one for state-sponsored construction of 100,000 housing units; and one to increase legislators' salaries.

### ***Texas Votes Districting Amendment, Seven Others***

Eight proposed state constitutional amendments were approved by the people of Texas on November 2 by votes ranging as high as three to one.

Outstanding is the provision for redistricting of the state for purposes of representation in the legislature by a board of various officials, in case the legislature fails to follow the existing constitutional mandate to redistrict after each decennial federal census. The last such redistricting in Texas was in 1921.

The board is to be composed of the lieutenant governor, speaker of the house, attorney general, commissioner of the general land office and the comptroller of public accounts—all of whom are elective. If the board fails

in this duty it can be mandamus-ed by the Supreme Court of the state.

Another amendment provides that in case of the death of a governor-elect, the lieutenant governor-elect will become governor.

The legislature is authorized to provide for the retirement and subsequent compensation of state judges, and for their reassignment to active duty when needed.

Another amendment permits husband and wife to partition their community property, by written agreement, without prejudice to the rights of existing creditors.

Four other amendments are fiscal in character—authorizing county ad valorem taxes for road and flood control purposes, instead of the state ad valorem tax; exempting \$3,000 taxable value of each residential homestead for all state purposes; permitting counties to provide workmen's compensation insurance for their employees; and substituting salaries for fees as to sheriffs, constables and deputies.

### ***Michigan Constitutional Revision in Doubt***

At the November 2 election the people of Michigan voted 302,250 to 164,241 for the holding of a convention for revision of the state constitution. Despite the favorable majority, however, the issue is still in doubt. It is the opinion of some state officials, including the governor, that to win the measure must have not only a majority of the votes cast on the measure but also a majority of all those voting in the election, in which case the proposal has failed. Assistant Attorney General Peter Bradt has issued a ruling, however, to the effect that only a simple majority of those voting on the issue is needed for adoption.

The Michigan Municipal League, a

its recent convention, concurred with its board of trustees in strongly urging constitutional revision, with special emphasis on home rule, equality of representation and improvement in governmental structure.

The people voted to increase salaries of state officials and legislators.

### **Maryland Voters Approve 7 Constitutional Amendments**

In the recent general elections, Maryland voters approved all proposed constitutional amendments submitted to them by referendum. Probably the most significant is that providing annual sessions of the legislature. Under the old procedure the legislature met biennially in regular session for not more than 90 days. The amendment will provide that in the even-numbered years the legislature will meet also in regular session but with a limit of 30 days. It will meet in even-numbered years primarily for the purpose of enacting an annual budget. It will be permitted also to enact legislation "dealing with an acute emergency" and legislation "in the general public welfare."

Another constitutional amendment approved by the voters specifies that "a person who has served two consecutive popular elective terms of office as governor shall be ineligible to succeed himself as governor for the term immediately following the second of said two consecutive popular elective terms."

A third amendment adopted declares "no person who is a member of an organization that advocates the overthrow of the government of the United States or of the state of Maryland, through force or violence, shall be eligible to hold any office, be it elective or appointive, or any other position of profit or trust in the government of or in the administration of

the business of this state or of any county, municipality, or other political subdivision of this state."

Three amendments relate primarily to Baltimore City. Most bitterly fought and passed by a narrow margin was the proposal which requires that a majority vote be secured in any territory to be annexed in the future to Baltimore. Another amendment permits Baltimore to acquire and use property to expand its off-street parking facilities. The third enables Baltimore City to acquire property "for development or redevelopment, including, but not limited to, the comprehensive renovation or rehabilitation thereof."

The final constitutional amendment removes a provision of the state constitution which, heretofore, has required that any bequest for religious purposes must have the specific consent of the state legislature. Hereafter, bequests for religious purposes may be made without specific review of each by the legislature.

Preliminary election returns indicate that all except the annexation provision were approved by substantial margins. The provision limiting the right of Baltimore City to annex surrounding territory was approved only as a result of an overwhelmingly favorable vote by the people of Baltimore County.

E.A.M.

### **Minnesota Constitutional Commission Reports**

A complete revision of Minnesota's 90-year-old constitution by the Constitutional Commission of Minnesota was submitted to the members of the legislature October 1. The commission was established by the 1947 legislature to make a thorough study of the constitution and to recommend changes deemed to be in the public interest; it consists of eight senators, eight

representatives, one member of the Supreme Court, one member of the executive branch and three citizen members appointed by the governor.

Proposals regarding the executive and judicial branches of the government have already been mentioned in the REVIEW this year (July, page 380, and September, page 434). As to the legislative branch, changes include provisions to extend the 90-day session limit, and for the calling of special sessions by the legislature as well as by the governor. If the legislature fails to reapportion the state legislative districts every ten years, it shall be done by a commission appointed by the governor; otherwise the senate shall be elected at large and the house on the basis of one representative from each county. Another change is a requirement that the apportionment of the senate shall not give more than one-eighth of the representation to one county; the house would be required to be on a population basis only, as is now specified. The senate would be permitted to introduce revenue measures as well as the house. The office of state auditor would be established, to be filled by the legislature and to make a post-audit of each department, office and agency of the state, and report to the legislature.

A generally new article on local government would supersede the existing article XI on counties and townships. It would restrict special legislation, strengthen home rule and local charter commissions, and permit city-county consolidation under home rule charters as well as by legislative action.

Amendments to the constitution would be proposed by two-thirds instead of a majority of the legislature, but could be approved on referendum by a majority of the people voting thereon, instead of a majority voting

at the election as a whole. The question of calling a constitutional convention would be submitted to referendum every 20 years.

The revised constitution is expected to be placed before the legislature when it meets in January. Its fate is doubtful, as the voters on November 2 rejected a proposed constitutional amendment to enable the legislature to call a constitutional convention, to submit its work to the people, in two years. The present requirement of a popular vote on the calling of a convention means a four-year period must elapse until final approval by the people.

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### ***Texas Bar Association Studies Constitutional Revision***

The State Bar Association of Texas has created a committee for initiating studies of organization and procedure for the ultimate preparation and submission of a new constitution for Texas. The association contemplates establishing a permanent section to be devoted to the science and art of state government, with particular attention to its constitutional framework.

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### ***Louisiana Civil Service Law Repealed***

Not content with earlier measures it had adopted, greatly weakening the state's six-year-old civil service program (see the REVIEW, September 1948, page 415), the Louisiana legislature repealed the civil service law and, effective October 23, wiped out the civil service department except for such merit system as covers some 3,000 employees in state departments administering federal grants-in-aid programs. Upon signing the act Governor Earl K. Long is reported to have remarked that he intended to "see that my friends and political supporters get jobs."

The repealer act, which required two-thirds of the senate and of the house, also gave the governor authority to appoint two of the three members of the New Orleans Civil Service Commission, in 1950 and 1951 respectively.

### **Council-Manager Plan Developments**

The city of **Pittsburg, Kansas**, (population 17,571) voted to adopt the council-manager plan at the November 2 general election. The question was placed on the ballot as the result of petitions with 2,635 signatures, sponsored by a citizens' committee on municipal government and filed on October 13. The election of the city council (commission) will be next April.

**Ashland, Kentucky**, (29,537) gave a majority vote of 800 for the return of council-manager government, to go into effect January 1, 1950.

The village of **Rochester, Michigan**, (3,759) adopted a council-manager charter on November 8, 189 to 128.

The city of **Norway, Michigan**, (3,728) voted 905 to 612 on November 2 to adopt a council-manager charter that had been drafted by a charter commission. Elective officials, exclusive of justice of the peace, are reduced from twelve to five, the latter being the members of the council. Primary elections for councilmen will be held in February and a general election in April. The new council will take office April 11.

**Scottsbluff, Nebraska**, (12,057) adopted a manager plan charter, 2,343 to 1,172. It will become effective in April of next year.

**Brewton, Alabama**, (3,323) recently passed an ordinance providing the council-manager plan. The plan was first adopted by ordinance in January 1947 but rescinded in October of the same year.

**Antioch, California**, (5,106) voted to adopt the council-manager plan, at the November 2 election.

**Corvallis, Oregon**, (8,392) voted by approximately three to one on November 2 to adopt the manager plan.

**Midland City, Oklahoma**, adopted a council-manager charter 331 to 133 on November 19.

**Ste. Agathe-des-Monts, Quebec**, adopted the council-manager plan in March by a vote of 162 to 67. It became effective September 1.

Four counties—**Anne Arundel and Montgomery, Maryland**, and **Santa Clara and San Mateo, California**, adopted the county-manager plan. San Mateo County adopted a manager charter in 1933 but amended it in 1937 to provide for an elective manager. (See page 612.)

In **Springfield, Massachusetts**, a poll of the chamber of commerce membership showed 88 per cent as favoring a council-manager plan for that city; 7 per cent preferred the strong-mayor plan and 5 per cent endorsed the present charter. Of those supporting the manager plan, 83 per cent favored the Massachusetts Plan D; 15 per cent preferred Plan E (which includes proportional representation) and 2 per cent expressed no preference.

**Newburgh, New York**, on November 2 defeated, on referendum, 4,366 to 1,115, a local law that would have permitted removal of the city manager only after written charges and a public hearing.

**Beacon, New York**, defeated a proposed manager-P. R. charter, 2,583 to 1,581. (See page 610.)

At an election on November 23, **Asbury Park, New Jersey**, retained the manager plan by a majority of 768 out of 5,862.

Several Maryland municipalities have made significant progress in the past

year toward the adoption of the manager plan of government. Approximately a year ago, the mayor of **Cumberland** appointed a charter commission as a result of a survey by the Bureau of Public Administration of the University of Maryland. This fourteen-man commission recently approved the manager plan unanimously. It is now engaged in drafting a manager charter for submission to the legislature in its 1949 session.

The city council of **Takoma Park**, also, as a result of a survey by the Bureau of Public Administration, has gone on record in favor of the manager principle. It has directed its corporation counsel to draft a charter embracing the manager plan.

A third town surveyed by the Bureau of Public Administration, **Pocomoke City**, is also giving favorable consideration to the manager plan. Its councilmen have been interviewing some of the possible candidates for the position and probably will seek authorizing legislation in the coming session of the legislature.

**Gate City, Virginia**, defeated a proposed manager charter on November 2, 232 to 192.

**Bay Harbor Islands, Florida**, will vote December 14 on a charter amendment to establish the council-manager plan.

In **Augusta, Georgia**, a mayoralty election on December 10 will provide a contest between advocates and opponents of the council-manager plan.

After resisting six previous attempts to discard the council-manager plan installed in **Ashtabula, Ohio**, in 1916, the people destroyed it on November 2 by voting 4,855 to 3,518 to make the office of manager elective. A special election for the so-called city manager is to be called soon.

The city of **Alma, Michigan**, has adopted a new council-manager char-

ter that is considered a notable improvement over the present one. It substantially enlarges the powers of the manager.

**Buchanan, Michigan**, voted 1,124 to 550 in favor of charter revision; the campaign was made on the basis of preparing a council-manager charter.

A council-manager proposal for **Green Bay, Wisconsin**, was defeated on November 2 by a vote of 13,550 to 6,704. It was opposed by the city's only newspaper and efforts of the League of Women Voters, the Junior Chamber of Commerce and other interested citizens to further the plan had little chance.

In **Merrill, Wisconsin**, the council, in response to a petition, has ordered a vote on the manager plan to be taken in April 1949.

Petitions have been filed in **Galena, Illinois**, calling for a special election on the question of adopting the council-manager plan.

A group of citizens in **Franklin Park, Illinois**, is conducting a campaign to elect a council next spring favorable to the manager plan.

As the result of a recent petition, a vote is expected in December in **Grinnell, Iowa**, on adopting the council-manager plan.

The attempt to restore the council-manager plan in **Mason City, Iowa**, was unsuccessful, the proposal being defeated 3,800 to 3,038 at the November 2 election; 3,811 people who voted on other matters abstained from voting on the manager question. The manager plan was abandoned in 1944 at a special election by a margin of 135 votes, with less than one-third of the voters going to the polls.

**Beloit, Kansas**, also defeated a manager proposal at the recent election, 1,049 to 684.

There is a movement in **Drumright,**

**Oklahoma**, for an election on the question of the manager plan.

Voters of **Texarkana, Texas**, on October 15 rejected, 1,718 to 861, a commission-manager charter drafted by a commission elected last December.

The people of **Arizona** on November 2 adopted a constitutional amendment exempting city managers from the requirement that state and municipal officers, elective or appointive, must be qualified electors of the area in which elected or appointed.

**Phoenix, Arizona**, on November 16 adopted by a vote of more than two to one a charter amendment strengthening the position of the city manager, and providing a council of seven members as against the present commission of five.

**Modesto, California**, voted 4,245 to 1,105 on November 2 in favor of the drafting of a council-manager charter by a board of fifteen freeholders selected by the city council.

In **Salem, Oregon**, the attempt to replace the council-manager plan by a commission plan was decisively defeated on November 2 by a vote of 8,023 to 4,151. **Oregon City, Oregon**, also rejected a proposal to weaken its manager government, 1,760 to 1,239.

A council-manager proposal for **Bremerton, Washington**, was defeated on November 2 by a margin of only 835 out of nearly 11,000 votes. It was advocated by a citizens committee and opposed by the city commission. The committee is encouraged inasmuch as defeat by a two to one vote was predicted. Voters of **Yakima, Washington**, defeated a manager proposal on the same day by a vote of 4,412 to 3,100.

### ***New Jersey Commission Reports on Municipal Government***

The New Jersey Commission on Municipal Government, appointed by

the governor and legislature, with Bayard H. Faulkner as chairman, will present to the legislature in January an important proposed revision of the laws to facilitate adoption of modern forms of municipal government in that state.

The Walsh Act, enacted in Woodrow Wilson's time just before the council-manager movement began, led 22 New Jersey cities out of 52, 22 boroughs out of 253, and seven towns out of 23 to adopt the commission plan, with some of the unsatisfactory results characteristic of that faulty structure. Many other communities are governed under an accumulation of ancient statutes which have left their basic law in confusion and twenty different types of municipal government, exclusive of special charters, were identified by the report.

The proposed new law, fully drafted in the report, requires every municipality to hold a referendum vote before 1955 on the question of whether the municipal structure should be overhauled. If the vote is "yes," a charter commission of five is created locally to make recommendations looking toward a revised special charter to be approved by the legislature or the acceptance of one or another of three ready-made plans provided as options under the law. These options are strong mayor and council plan, council-manager plan avowedly following the *Model City Charter* of the National Municipal League, and a "small municipality plan" simplifying the existing borough and township governments to provide integration of old loose-jointed setups.

The council-manager chapter clears up a vexatious feature of the present law which has prevented widespread adoption of the plan in New Jersey—the requirement of four votes out of five in the council to remove a manager "for cause." This might be inter-

puted as involving opportunity for the manager to appeal to the courts and possibly retain his position in spite of strong council disapproval. The situation was not much improved by a recent amendment to permit summary removal by a majority during the first three years of a manager's tenure.

The law now proposed copies the *Model City Charter*, letting a majority of the council remove the manager on 30 days' notice with statement of the reasons for removal and an opportunity for the manager to be heard. This type of provision in various cities has given time for lively expressions of public opinion and sometimes a reversal of the vote to remove or even a recall of council members. Neither the National Municipal League nor the International City Managers' Association countenances protected tenure of any additional degree for city managers.

Municipalities which adopt one of the proposed options can, after a time, switch to another new plan but cannot revert to any of the old jumbles. This includes commission government which will no longer be available for new adoptions. However, an optional amendment is offered so that cities and boroughs now having commission government may alter it to vest certain administrative and financial powers in the mayor, who would be elected separately from the commissioners. The mayor would be responsible for budgeting, centralized purchase and municipal personnel system. He would also have veto power over ordinances which can only be overridden by four members of a five-member commission or three members of a three-member commission. In the latter case, the mayor would have to change his mind since the mayor is also a commissioner. The mayor would assign his colleagues to departments

and might designate a deputy mayor to serve in his absence or disability.

The "small municipality" option for communities under 12,000 creates an elective mayor and two councilmen in places of less than 5,000 or four in places over 5,000 and no other local officials are to be elected. The mayor has no veto power but votes as a councilman and with council consent appoints all municipal officers and employees, including a scatteration of local officers now elective.

All the new optional forms provide for nonpartisan ballots and spring elections.

The optional forms may be adopted either by simple petition and referendum, or by referendum following recommendation by a local charter commission.

R.S.C.

### ***Civil Service Assembly Holds 39th Convention***

More than 550 delegates from the United States, Canada, Alaska, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands attended the 39th annual Conference on Public Personnel Administration, held in Ottawa, Canada, October 4-7, by the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada.

Among the specific topics discussed, in addition to reports on progress in 1948, were relations with universities, selecting and training supervisors, improving public management, the role of the commissioners in public relations, handling pay problems during inflation, positive recruitment methods, job performance standards, employee organizations and personnel research.

A resolution was adopted opposing the employment of Communists in the public service of the United States.

The new president of the assembly is George T. Jackson, director of organization and classification, Civil Service Commission of Canada.

Citizen Action . . . . . Edited by Elsie S. Parker

## Election Aids for the Voter

### *Campaign Issues, Candidates Discussed by Citizen Groups*

**I**F THE presidential election overshadowed state and local issues, it was not the fault of the many civic groups which strived to inform the voters on local candidates and issues.

The **League of Women Voters** is nonpartisan, supporting no parties or candidates, but it urges its members to enroll in the party of their choice and take an active part in politics. Many leagues send questionnaires to candidates and publish the returns without comment for the guidance of voters.

The **League of Women Voters of Westchester County, New York**, published its full-page "Westchester Voters' Guide" in the *Yonkers Herald Statesman*, which gave the space as a public service. Replies received from candidates for the national House of Representatives and the state senate and assembly as to their stand on major issues were set forth, with a table showing the votes of congressmen on foreign and domestic issues. A somewhat more complete guide was available at the league office for five cents.

Local branches of the **League of Women Voters of New York City** held a dozen or more candidates' meetings to listen to what candidates had to say on state and national issues, thus giving "league members, friends and the general public an opportunity to see, hear and compare aspirants for public office." Its *Active Voter* reported the records of incumbent congressmen during the past year on twenty significant measures. Thirteen local

branches sent the nonpartisan platform of the league to all candidates in their districts.

The **League of Women Voters of Massachusetts** distributed a broadside, planographed from the *Christian Science Monitor* and titled "Bay State League of Women Voters Lists Vital Election Information."

The **Indiana** league published the results of its questionnaire to gubernatorial candidates. Its *Indiana Woman Voter* reported election activities of local branches: The **Culver** league cooperated with local officials in registration work. When the Freedom Train was in **Gary** the local league set up a tent for registration of voters and demonstrated the voting machine. It reported "178 new registrations and 46 transfers" and "217 demonstrations of the voting machine to groups of three to ten." The **Crown Point** league wrote to all 21-year-olds, saying in part: "Now you are 21. You are a member of the 'ruling class,' the one and only ruling class of this country." As a means of demonstrating voting machines, the **Lake County** league conducted a poll at the county fair on juvenile court standards.

Voter information published by the **League of Women Voters of Georgia** in its *Georgia Voter* took the form of questions and answers. Questions covered such matters as: For whom do I vote? How is the president elected? Who counts the electoral votes? Are write-ins counted? Who is in charge of elections, absentee ballots? etc.

The *Illinois Voter*, publication of the **League of Women Voters of Illinois**, also questioned candidates and published their replies. Maps portrayed the outlines of congressional and state senatorial election districts for the voters' guidance.

In **Cincinnati**, the league issued "The Who and What of Election Day," also publishing replies from candidates to questionnaires. Local bond issues and their purposes were described.

The *Voters Directory* of the **Citizens Union of the City of New York** contained biographical information on over 500 candidates running in New York City and surrounding counties. This is one of the organizations which, after weighing the evidence carefully, gives sorely needed advice to the many voters not in a position to determine the merits of local candidacies. Candidates are labelled "endorsed," "qualified," and "preferred," where "the evidence secured clearly justifies them." "No voter who consults this directory will have a reasonable excuse for voting blindly," says the union.

The **Detroit Citizens League** published its "Report to Members by Detroit Citizens League Committee on Candidates and Questions for General Election" via its *Civic Searchlight*. Discussed were the five constitutional amendments on the ballot and a proposal for general revision of the constitution. The league endorsed state and local candidates by the use of the words endorsed, qualified and preferred, and made strong recommendations on ballot questions.

A "Forum on November Ballot Proposals" was the contribution of the **Port Huron Citizens' League** to citizen education. Discussed were six constitutional amendment proposals and a referendum on calling a convention to amend the constitution. The same proposals, with recommendations, were discussed in the *Michigan Municipal Review* of the **Michigan Municipal League**.

The election number of the *Seattle Municipal News* grew considerably in size to accommodate the report of the **Seattle Municipal League** on candidates and issues. This organization, too,

makes recommendations. "This is the toughest election in years," comments the *News*. "It is a stiff challenge to the intelligence and judgment of Seattle and King County voters to see whether or not they can make wise decisions on public policies and candidates. It is no time for the vacuum-minded voter."

The **New Orleans Bureau of Governmental Research** described 41 constitutional amendments on which Louisiana voters balloted in its October 14 bulletin, *State Problems*. Pro and con arguments were presented, with recommendations on most of them.

"Report on Candidates — Federal, State and County Offices" was issued by the **Citizens League of Cleveland** "as a public service." "We make no claim to being infallible," says *Greater Cleveland*, the league's weekly bulletin. "We do take pride in the fact that the league's recommendations are made with the utmost care and with a full sense of responsibility. . . . We are also proud of the fact that the league has conscientiously reviewed the abilities of all candidates regardless of political affiliations or race, creed and nationality considerations."

California and local ballot proposals were discussed, with recommendations, by the **Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce** and the **Property Owners Association of California**.

The **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research** polled San Francisco and state organizations as to their stands on state and local measures, reporting its findings in a recent *Bulletin*. Groups listed were the **Labor Council**, **Central Council of Civic Clubs**, **Building Owners and Managers Association**, **Civic League of Improvement Clubs**, **Real Estate Board**, **League of Women Voters**, **Down Town Association**, and the **Municipal Conference**, all local; statewide groups included the **State Chamber of Commerce**, **Cali-**

California Farm Bureau, and the Commonwealth Club.

Reports of committees which studied initiative and referendum measures on the November 2 ballot have been published by the **Portland City Club** in its *City Club Bulletin*, and submitted to members for their vote for and against. The *Bulletin* of October 29 gave short summaries of the reports with membership recommendations.

### **Citizen Forces Win County Home Rule**

Led by the **Seattle Municipal League**, which devoted the full time of its research director Lorin Peterson to the campaign, civic forces in the state of Washington were victorious in securing adoption of a constitutional amendment providing home rule for counties.<sup>1</sup> Among the groups working on the amendment were the **League of Women Voters**, **Seattle Junior Chamber of Commerce**, and the **State Grange**.

While thousands, and even hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent on other initiative measures, reports C. A. Crosser, executive secretary of the league, only \$4,000 was available for the home rule campaign. Part of this paid for a statement supporting the amendment published in the *Voters Handbook* prepared and circulated by the secretary of state among all registered voters. Some 30 influential county weeklies also carried advertisements.

Radio time was donated by local stations; the *Seattle Times* and *Post-Intelligencer* devoted much space to the amendment and plugged for it editorially. Members of the league's Town Criers Committee and others made a hundred talks before civic groups; 100,000 placards and dodgers were distributed.

Strategy of the campaign was to

push the general concept of county home rule. "Our only enemy," says Mr. Crosser, "was apathy." The league and the other groups involved now look forward to securing a home rule charter for King County.

### **Citizen Committees Study Zoning, Traffic**

One of the techniques used by citizen groups in seeking solution of pressing problems is that of committees to make studies and recommendations.

Three October issues of the **Chicago City Club Bulletin** publish a report on the city council's proposed revision of the Chicago zoning ordinance which has been issued jointly by the club's city planning and housing committee and the committee on local government and administration and approved by the club's board of governors.

The report gives a brief history of zoning in general, commenting that "the stress has been on the damage done by lack of zoning rather than the good possible through intelligent zoning. . . . The present attitude, however, is towards the more enlightened viewpoint of creating an efficient, economical and beautiful city pattern that will be truly an enjoyable and wholesome place to live and work." The report recommends that the Chicago Comprehensive Plan, "should be expedited toward completion and endorsed by the city council before the final determination of a recommended comprehensive zoning revision."

Thirteen club committees and their chairmen have just been announced for 1948-1949.

A special committee working through the **Cincinnati City Charter Committee** has submitted to the city council several practical steps on traffic regulation and control. "Many of the suggestions are elementary," says the *Charter News Letter*, "and undoubtedly

<sup>1</sup>See also page 616 this issue.

will have occurred to someone in the administration before now. The fact remains that to date nothing has been done about them."

The **Massachusetts Civic League** reports in the *Lens*, its monthly publication, that seven staff committees—membership, legislative representation, finance, publicity, speakers, activities and office assistance—have been organized because of the necessity of supplementing the league's small paid staff with volunteer assistance. Other committees have been working and reporting on such matters as billboards, crime and correction, children's welfare, education, forms of government, housing, etc. Their annual reports appear in the September issue of *Lens*.

### Conference Reports

*Look to the Community*, by the **New Jersey Citizens' Conference**, is a report on the second annual **New Jersey Institute on the Community**, which met at Rutgers University in September. Topics headlined are: New Jersey Citizens Seek Answer in the Community, Taking Stock of New Jersey with Findings of the Committee of Inquiry, and A Community Finds New Power. Discussion on the latter took the form of a town meeting in a mythical town of fifty thousand called Meridian which in three sessions discussed its problems, "talked things through," and finally organized a Citizens' Council "to unite the people of our community in an overall organization to study the problems both present and future of the city and to devise methods of meeting those problems with the objective of making Meridian the best possible place in which to live and work." Tools to Stand Us in Good Stead was the final conference topic.

*Citizenship—Know It, Cherish It, Live It*, published by the **United States Department of Justice** and the **Nation-**

**al Education Association**, reports the **Third National Conference on Citizenship**, held in Washington, May 16-19. It carries excerpts from a number of the addresses delivered at the conference, and much of the text of America's Town Meeting on "How Should Democracy Deal with Groups Which Aim to Destroy Democracy," broadcast on May 18 from Constitution Hall in Washington. In addition to Moderator George V. Denny, Jr., speakers were U. S. Senator Robert A. Taft, former Judge Thurman W. Arnold, Editor Ralph McGill of the *Atlanta Constitution*, and Congressman Richard M. Nixon of California.

A workshop of the **Women's Forum of Worcester County, Massachusetts**, held October 5, studied possibilities for club program planning. Subjects and leaders covered six topics, among them schools, public recreation and local government. Under the latter topic the new Plan E charter for Worcester, to go into effect in 1950, was considered the most important issue.

### William P. Lovett Memorial Fund

The committee appointed by the Detroit Citizens League to consider possible uses of the memorial fund for **William P. Lovett**, its executive secretary for many years who died a year ago, has recommended in its report to the board of directors that the fund be used "in the training of youth in the field of political science in the interests of better government." The committee suggests that the fund be administered through the Student Aid Foundation of Michigan, which will select the beneficiary "in accordance with the methods now employed by it in selecting beneficiaries of other funds made available to it from time to time for the education and training of youth in various fields."

## Proportional Representation . . .

*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.  
and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

### Yonkers Repeals Use of P. R.

#### *Opponents Now Threaten Council Manager Charter*

WITH proportional representation repealed here on November 2 by a margin of 4,333, this city will go back to electing its common council by wards next November, terminating citywide council elections. P. R. was adopted ten years ago as part of a council-manager charter. The repeal vote was 31,133 to 26,800. Eight wards voted in favor of repeal; four voted to retain P. R.

There had been a record registration of 75,134, achieved through combined efforts of various groups, including especially the "Teas for Ten" effort of the New Women's Group. Of these 2,396 did not vote. Among those who did vote for president, there were 15,572 who did not vote either way on the P. R. repealer.

The campaign to retain P. R. was conducted by a Citizens Committee to Keep P. R., of which Miss Dorothea Genzlinger was chairman. This committee had the cooperation of the Yonkers Municipal League, the League of Women Voters and the New Women's Group.

A year ago—in the final council election under P. R.—examination of the ballots showed that the present citywide council of seven represents 97.2 per cent of the valid ballots cast, a percentage believed to be a record for representation in any municipal election under any form.

Immediate steps are being taken to seek to hold together the interest and participation of the 26,800 who voted

against repeal in the hope that out of the disappointment will arise a long sought civic organization which can be vigilant against any deterioration in the municipal government and against any further assaults upon the council-manager charter.

The charter amendment calls for election of a common council of twelve by the plurality system on the voting machines, one from each ward. A ceremonial mayor will be elected from the city at large by majority vote. The councilmen will be paid \$2,500 each; the mayor, \$2,500. The vice mayor will be chosen by the council of twelve from among its membership.

Under the present plan councilmen are paid \$2,200, the mayor \$2,600. The mayor and vice mayor are elected by a complete recount of all P. R. ballots, with none but the elected seven councilmen as candidates. The highest man at the end of the count is mayor, the next highest vice mayor.

Under the new plan the mayor will fill vacancies by appointment; at present, vacancies are filled by a recount of the ballots of the person resigning or dying plus the exhausted ballots, thus giving the voters themselves the right to pick the successor to their own choice.

Yonkers used the ward election system until December 31, 1939, under the mayor-council form which gave way on that date to the council-manager charter with P. R.

Less than a week after the P. R. repeal was voted, William J. Wallin, chancellor of the State Board of Regents and a foremost foe of council-manager government and also of P. R., advised the common council that the

ward plan (which he advocated before election) was freighted with dangers, principally of log-rolling. He recommended that the mayor's position be revised by immediate charter amendment, strengthening the mayor's power and increasing his salary, also giving him an independent secretarial staff—beyond the control of the common council. He wants the mayor to get a veto power over council actions. He favors a \$6,000 salary for the mayor. He would make the vice mayor the presiding officer in the council.

This was regarded as an opening assault on the council-manager charter itself. The common council gave the proposal short shrift, filing Mr. Wallin's letter. Republican and Democratic city chairmen indicated Mr. Wallin's proposal is premature.

OXIE REICHLER, *Editor*  
Yonkers *Herald Statesman*

### **Beacon, New York, Defeats Proposed Manager-P. R. Charter**

Despite an active campaign headed by the Taxpayers' and Rentpayers' Association, a proposed new charter for Beacon, New York, providing the council-manager plan with proportional representation for election of the council, lost by a vote of 2,583 to 1,581.

The Taxpayers' Association began its campaign for a new charter as long ago as April 1947, when it appointed a committee to investigate the council-manager plan. After securing information from various sources, including the National Municipal League and the U. S. Chamber of Commerce, and making a study of the matter, the committee made its report in April 1948, favoring council-manager government with P. R. The association supported the report almost unanimously.

George H. Hallett, Jr., secretary of the New York Citizens Union, drafted the charter amendment, which was circulated as a petition and presented

to the city council in July. Over twice the number of signatures needed was secured.

During the fall the association conducted its campaign, distributing literature, doing house-to-house canvassing and telephoning and arranging a number of meetings with out-of-town speakers. Some of these included Richard S. Childs, chairman of the council of the N. M. League; Mrs. Edith P. Welty, Yonkers councilwoman; and Oxie Reichler, editor of the Yonkers *Herald Statesman*.

The leaders of both political parties and the local newspaper conducted a vigorous campaign against the charter, however, attacking P. R. especially with the consequent defeat of the proposal.

It is expected that at the association's forthcoming annual meeting the matter will again be discussed. The group feels that it will want to continue the fight since, with the experience gained in the recent campaign and the growing dissatisfaction with both political parties, chances are good for victory next time.

WALTER N. MUNSON  
Beacon Taxpayers' and  
Rentpayers' Association

### **New York Citizens Union Cites Evidence for P. R.**

In a newspaper release analyzing the November 2 elections in New York City, the New York Citizens Union has pointed out that the results make a strong case for a return to P. R. for the city's council. The statement, signed by Mr. Hallett of this department as the union's secretary, is as follows:

"Since New York voters have adopted ordinary plurality election by state senate districts in substitution for proportional representation in elections of the city council, this year's election of the New York City members of the

state senate may give us some idea of what we are in for in the city elections next year.

"Only two candidates, Senators Mitchell and Halpern, were elected to the state senate delegation of 25 members from this city without Democratic endorsement this year. Two other Republicans, Senators Fino and Scanlan, were elected with bipartisan endorsement from the Bronx, but each of them received more votes on the Democratic line than the Republican and so were apparently returned only by sufferance of the Democratic plurality.

"In the congressional elections, from districts in many cases identical with the senate districts, the picture was nearly the same. Republican Congressmen Coudert, Javits and Latham and American Labor Congressman Marcantonio were the only opposition candidates elected in the city's 24 congressional districts.

"Remembering that last year not a single person was elected in any district in the city without Democratic support, it seems evident that next year we are likely to get a near-monopoly of the city council such as we used to have in the old board of aldermen but have never had in the five elections under P. R.

"In the borough of Queens the election illustrated the fact that the district system may give a minority of the voters a majority of the seats. In that borough the Democratic party cast fewer votes than the Republican for state senate but elected three senators out of four. The same thing exactly happened in the election of Queens congressmen. Last time, with the aid of the Dewey vote for governor, the Republicans were temporarily over-represented in Queens, capturing all four Queens seats both in the state senate and in Congress.

"A similar sweep was scored this

time by the Democrats in Brooklyn. With only a little more than three-fifths of the votes they captured all nine of the Brooklyn senators and all nine of the borough's congressmen.

"P. R. makes any such distortions impossible. In all five of the P. R. elections here one or more minorities secured representation in every one of the four large boroughs. And no party ever captured more seats than a rival party with more votes under P. R., as happened this year in Queens.

"P. R. was voted out here last year because it gave representation to certain radical minorities, even though only in proportion to the votes cast for their candidates. The re-election of Congressman Marcantonio shows that the district system is no guarantee against the representation of such minorities and that they may even monopolize the representation of a district where a large majority voted against them. The unofficial totals reported for the 18th congressional district were as follows: Marcantonio (A.L.P.) 35,937; Ellis (Rep.) 31,482; Morrissey (Dem.) 31,184. Congressman Marcantonio was re-elected by only a little more than a third of the voters of his district because the other two-thirds were about evenly divided between his two rivals.

"The preferential vote feature of P. R. by itself would have prevented this miscarriage of justice, for it would have permitted the Morrissey voters to help Mr. Ellis as their second choice when it became evident that their first choice could not win. A full-fledged P. R. system in a larger district would doubtless have given representation to the American Labor party which elected Marcantonio, but would have given more seats to the Republicans and Democrats in proportion to their votes. No one would have had to be misrepresented by a person he voted against.

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County and Township . . . . Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

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## Four Counties Adopt Manager Charters

*Two Each in Maryland and  
California Make Total 16*

AT THE November 2 election four counties adopted the manager plan: Montgomery and Anne Arundel Counties, Maryland, and Santa Clara and San Mateo Counties in California. Two of them—Montgomery and Santa Clara—adopted new charters prepared by charter commissions. Anne Arundel's charter was a legislative act. San Mateo, which originally adopted the county manager plan in 1933, but amended its charter in 1937 to elect the manager, voted to restore a true manager setup.

### Montgomery County

Advocates of good government, home rule and the manager plan won a decisive victory on November 2, after a series of defeats, when Montgomery County, Maryland, voted 17,318 to 13,652 in favor of a home rule manager plan charter. The county thus becomes the first in Maryland to secure home rule under a constitutional amendment that has been part of the state constitution for a third of a century and, with Anne Arundel County (see note below), the first in the state to adopt the manager plan.

Adoption of the new charter, which is the result of ten years of study, education and defeat, clears the way for securing a modern, efficient, businesslike organization for the county.

It was in 1933 that the county commissioners voted to have the Brookings Institution make a study of Montgomery County government. A proposed manager plan charter, which grew out of this study, was defeated

by a narrow vote in 1944.<sup>1</sup> In 1946, however, a new charter board was elected by an overwhelming margin. Its work, which now will go into effect in 1949, provides for a county council of seven members, elected one each from five districts and two at large, to serve four-year terms.

The council will act as a legislative body during the month of May of each year. Its powers will not extend to incorporated towns and special taxing districts in the county. Its laws are subject to referendum except those authorizing the borrowing of money up to one-fourth of one per cent of the assessable tax basis of the county. The council may veto by August 15 any bill passed during the legislative month of May.

The council appoints the county manager, who must be a man of proven ability in this field. The maximum salary is \$12,000 a year. Under the manager the charter establishes the departments of finance and public works. He will be responsible for the preparation of an expense budget and a capital budget, which must be enacted by June 30 of each year. The manager, himself or through an assistant, is responsible for all centralized purchasing. He purchases for the school system to the extent requested by the county board of education.

Under the new charter the office of county attorney is under supervision of the county council, which may create additional departments. A merit system is established to be administered by a county personnel board. Four positions are abolished: county treasurer, clerk to the county commissioners, attorney to the county com-

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<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW, December 1944, page 583.

missioners and the police commissioner.

An endless array of obstacles has been placed in the path of the new charter by the opposition. Latest action was a court test to prevent the charter from being submitted at the 1948 general election. Opponents won a partial victory when the Circuit Court of Montgomery County declared that the budget provision of the charter was in violation of the constitution, ruling that, since budget-making was a "legislative" process, the charter provision which specified that the budget should be considered and adopted after the legislative month had to be deleted.

The Maryland Court of Appeals, the highest court in the state, reversed the Circuit Court, however, and ordered that the charter be placed on the ballot in exactly the form in which it was drafted and submitted by the charter committee. It ruled that the lower court erred in ordering the deletion since no Maryland court has such jurisdiction. However, it affirmed the jurisdiction of the courts to consider the proposed charter even though it was not as yet enacted law.

Regarding the question of whether the budget process was "legislative" in nature, the court drew on historical precedents to demonstrate that the power to levy taxes and appropriate moneys always had belonged to local governments. It emphasized that the restrictive clause of article XI-A of the constitution, limiting "legislative" acts of a county council to one month, was intended to limit the county only in the acts previously performed by the state legislature. Levying county taxes and making county appropriations were functions always exercised by the counties.

An interpretation of article XI-A which would place limitations on these functions, said the court, would do violence to the very title "home rule

amendment." The major purpose of the article was to transfer the power of local legislation from the state legislature to counties and not to limit the county council in powers long exercised.

The charter becomes effective on the 30th day after adoption. Special elections for the first county council will be held on January 6.

#### Anne Arundel's Vote

By a narrow vote of 5,411 to 5,016, the electorate of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, approved the manager plan of government. This plan was to have gone into effect in June 1947 as a result of the passage of a state law, but, under the provisions of the constitution which permit a referendum vote on such measures, petitions were circulated and signed which stopped application of the law until a referendum could be held.<sup>1</sup>

The manager plan became an issue in the 1946 elections to the state legislature. The successful candidates for the legislature called on a group of citizens to study the administration of the county government and recommend necessary changes. As a result of this inquiry, the manager plan was recommended.

The committee that prepared the plan has entered into agreement with the county commissioners whereby the committee will be allowed to screen all applicants for position of manager. The commissioners will appoint one of those approved by the committee.

Under the new law, the manager has indefinite tenure and can be removed by the commissioners only on 30 days' notice after a public hearing at which the manager is permitted to answer charges. The manager has general supervision over administration of the county, but his jurisdiction will not

<sup>1</sup>See the REVIEW, June 1947, page 349; February 1948, page 111.

extend to the board of license commissioners and the police department.

Many persons in the county believe that adoption of the manager plan is the first step toward a home rule charter for Anne Arundel County.

#### **Santa Clara's New Charter**

Santa Clara County, until now the largest in California without home rule, on November 2 adopted a locally drafted charter by a vote of 38,185 to 32,981. It was prepared by a board of freeholders elected June first, and now will be submitted to the state legislature for final approval. The charter provides for a county executive (manager) to be appointed by the board of supervisors.

Under the general laws of the state, the voters of Santa Clara County have been electing thirteen local administrative officers in addition to the board of supervisors of five members. Under the new charter they will elect only three officers plus the board of supervisors—assessor, district attorney and superintendent of schools. The justices of peace also will continue to be elected.

The board of supervisors will continue to appoint the planning commission, welfare commission, and board of education. In addition, the supervisors will appoint a clerk to the board, county counsel, health commission and a personnel board to replace the civil service commission.

Elective officers who will be appointed by the county executive include the treasurer, tax collector, county clerk, recorder, coroner and sheriff. Officers previously appointed by the board of supervisors but to be appointed by the county executive under the new charter include the director of welfare, sealer of weights and measures, building inspector, purchasing agent, county librarian and agriculture committee.

The superintendent of hospitals and the health officer, formerly appointed by the board of supervisors, will be brought under the jurisdiction of the newly created director of public health who will be appointed by the county executive.

The elective constables will be replaced by constables appointed by the sheriff, and the engineer, to be appointed by the county executive, will assume the duties of road commissioner as well as those of the abolished elective office of surveyor. The elective office of public administrator is abolished and his functions transferred to the coroner.

The elective auditor and the appointive finance officer are abolished with transfer of their functions to the newly created office of comptroller under supervision of the county executive. The function of post-audit, formerly conducted through the grand jury, becomes the responsibility of the county board which is directed to employ a certified public accountant to conduct an annual audit.

The county executive will appoint a director of planning to replace the secretary-director appointed by the planning commission, and a director of personnel to replace the executive secretary appointed by the civil service commission.

Finally, there is established under the county executive the office of registrar of voters.

The board of supervisors remains unchanged organizationally under the new charter. Three votes of the five-member board are sufficient to hire the county executive, and the same number of votes may remove him. The executive may request that the reasons for his removal be given in writing. The county board is authorized "to consolidate appointive county offices whenever the respective duties thereof are not inconsistent, and to

consolidate, segregate, transfer or reassign the powers, duties or functions of any appointive county office, agency, institution or administrative unit or any division or subdivision thereof, and to combine, transfer, redistribute, adjust or abolish any employment in the county service required or justified by reason of such change."

The board of supervisors is prohibited from interfering in administrative affairs by the provision, "Except for the purpose of inquiry and information, neither the board of supervisors nor any member thereof shall deal with any administrative officer or employee appointed by or under the county executive except through him, and neither the board of supervisors nor any member thereof shall give orders to the subordinates of the county executive either publicly or privately."

The county executive is to be chosen solely on the basis of his executive and administrative qualifications with special reference to his actual experience in, or his knowledge of, accepted practice in respect to the duties of his office." The charter furthermore specifies that he need not be a resident of California at the time of his appointment. He will supervise all county officers appointed by him and coordinate the work of other county agencies. He will prepare the budget and supervise its execution, advise the board of supervisors and perform other general executive functions of the county.

The charter specifies that no compensation by fees shall be permitted to any officers and employees of the county or its townships. The entire charter will become effective next July 1.

### **San Mateo Changes Again**

San Mateo County will once again operate under the county manager plan by an amendment adopted at

the November 2 election. The county adopted a manager charter in 1933, but in 1937 it passed an amendment providing for election of the county executive. The present elected executive will complete his term which expires in January 1951.

### **Birmingham-Jefferson County Consolidation Fails**

According to conclusive reports, the amendment which would have provided consolidation of Jefferson County, Alabama, and its cities, including Birmingham, has failed of passage by a vote of more than two to one.

There was a concentrated campaign against this amendment during the last few weeks of the campaign, and no organized campaign whatever for it. More than a year ago, before the legislature proposed the amendment, there was an active campaign in its favor, with citizen groups, newspapers and other supporters being outspoken in its favor. The opponents of the measure held their fire at that time.

### **Committee Opposes**

Within the last two months, a committee was formed in Jefferson County, with adequate funds, to oppose the amendment. The association of county governing officials in the state adopted a resolution opposing the amendment, the State Farm Bureau printed a front-page editorial in its journal against the amendment, the organ of the State League of Municipalities came out with a strong editorial against the amendment, and a mail campaign, directed to every boxholder in the state, was conducted. Probably the chief sources of financial support for the campaign were the owners of industrial property located within Jefferson County but outside the city limits of Birmingham, on which the taxes would have been subject to con-

siderable increase had the consolidation plan been adopted.

The legislative delegation from Jefferson County has apparently committed itself to a bill in the next legislature providing for the expansion of the municipal boundaries of Birmingham. This expansion will not, however, take in the most important segments of the industrial properties now lying just outside the city limits, nor even, perhaps, all of the satellite municipalities.

YORK WILLBERN, *Assistant Director*  
Bureau of Public Administration  
University of Alabama

### ***Washington County Home Rule Wins; Consolidation Defeated***

The voters of the state of Washington, in the recent general election, approved a constitutional amendment providing home rule for counties. Under the amendment, 10 per cent of the voters of any county may initiate a charter movement by signing a petition or the county commissioners may take the lead by calling for a charter election. If a favorable vote is secured from the electorate on the question of whether a charter shall be drafted, the voters elect a board of freeholders of 15 to 25 members.

If the charter movement is initiated by the county board, the vote on whether a charter shall be drafted and the actual election of the freeholders may take place separately at either special or general elections but, if the movement is initiated by the petition method, both matters must be submitted simultaneously at a general election only.

The charter drafted by the freeholders must be submitted to the voters for final approval. If approved, it must be placed in operation within six months.

The freeholders are given great latitude in the drafting of a charter. They may "provide for such county officers as may be deemed necessary." Presumably, they may combine or eliminate offices, specify the qualifications necessary, establish a merit system, provide for the manager plan, establish budget control, and make other changes. They are specifically prohibited, however, from altering the present method of electing the judiciary, the prosecutor or the county superintendent of schools.

The campaign for the home rule amendment was directed by a forty-six member state-wide committee for county home rule.<sup>1</sup> It had the support of the Municipal League of Seattle, Seattle Junior Chamber of Commerce, Washington State Grange, League of Women Voters, and many other organizations. The *Voters' Pamphlet* published by the Secretary of State contained an argument in favor of the home rule amendment but none against it since none had been presented.

Another constitutional amendment, permitting city-county consolidation in counties of 300,000 or more, applying at the present time only to King County and Seattle, was defeated by a narrow margin.

The voters approved an amendment removing the constitutional provision limiting a county officer to two successive terms.

### ***Texas Voters Pass Amendments Regarding Counties***

At the November 2 election the voters of Texas approved two constitutional amendments which improve county government. The first authorizes counties to provide workmen's compensation insurance for county

<sup>1</sup>See also page 607 this issue.

employees. This will give public employees the same kind of protection now enjoyed by employees in private enterprise.

The other amendment provides that all sheriffs, deputy sheriffs, county law enforcement officers, including sheriffs who also perform the duties of assessor and collector of taxes, and their deputies, constables, deputy constables and precinct law enforcement officers, must be paid on a salary rather than a fee basis.

This supplements the amendment adopted in 1935 which provided that all county and district officers in counties having a population of 20,000 or more must be compensated on a salary basis only. The 1935 amendment empowered the commissioners' courts in smaller counties to decide whether their officers should be paid by fees or salaries.

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### ***County Manager Plan Advocated***

At a recent meeting of the New Mexico County Officials' Association, a county commissioner advocated adoption of the manager plan for New Mexico counties. He declared that commissioners should be the only elective officials in a county. They should be the governing and policy-making body and they should appoint the manager. He stated that the objectives of his proposal were: (1) reduction in expenses; (2) elimination of patronage; (3) tenure and security for employees; and (4) a general increase in efficiency of administration. The board of county commissioners, through the manager, would have authority over all departments of county government whereas, under the present system in New Mexico, their authority is limited to maintenance of

the court house and construction and improvement of county roads.

The mayor of East Paterson, New Jersey, campaigning for a seat on the board of freeholders of Bergen County, has included in his proposals the adoption of the county manager form of government. He has stated flatly that any business as large as that of Bergen County needs efficient administration and that he favors adoption of the manager form to achieve this end. He cited the example of Teaneck as a New Jersey community with a successful manager plan government.

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### ***County Consolidation Developments***

In Texas and Nevada progress has been made recently in the consolidation of county activities. In Texas, the Jefferson County commissioners' court recently went on record as unanimously favoring creation of a county-wide health unit which would replace the separate departments now maintained in the various cities of the county. In Nevada, the Legislative Counsel Bureau is studying the feasibility of consolidation of counties. It will report its findings to the state legislature.

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### ***Local Government Issues News Letter***

The town (township) of Northampton, New York, is following the policy of keeping its citizens and taxpayers fully informed on local matters by the issuance of a periodic news letter. It discusses questions, suggestions and comments which have been addressed to town officials. Official action of the town board is shown and the agenda of the matters to be taken up at the next town board meeting is included.

**Taxation and Finance . . . . . Edited by Wade S. Smith**

## Electors Speak on Fiscal Matters

### *Veto 44% of Bond Issues, Ratify State Proposals*

STATE and local voters on November 2 threw a monkey wrench into many a municipal improvement program by refusing to ratify bond proposals, but gave their sanction to an amazing variety of state propositions of more than nominal fiscal importance. When complete returns are in and an orderly classification of the day's results is possible the general election of 1948 appears likely to enter the history books as startling in more ways than one.

On bond issue proposals, the preliminary post-election canvass of *The Daily Bond Buyer*, with 90 per cent of the returns in, estimated that about 44 per cent of the principal amount of the bonds submitted had been turned down. Issues aggregating roundly \$612,000,000 were approved, \$479,000,000 were defeated, and results were not known on issues aggregating \$112,000,000. Part of the large "defeated" total was accounted for by \$152,000,000 Minnesota bonus proposal, which was first reported defeated, then in doubt, but more recently has been reported as carrying, although final results are still not known.

At the state level, approvals included \$100,000,000 Washington bonus bonds, \$85,000,000 Iowa bonus bonds, \$120,000,000 Louisiana bonds—half for a bonus and half for bridges and causeways, \$10,000,000 Louisiana highway bonds, \$50,000,000 West Virginia road bonds, and \$30,000,000 South Dakota bonus bonds.

In the defeated column were \$100,-

000,000 California housing bonds, \$50,000,000 New Jersey building bonds, \$38,000,000 Oregon bonus bonds (the law would have excluded pre-Pearl Harbor personnel, including most of the state National Guard), \$15,000,000 New Jersey transit bonds, and \$10,000,000 Oregon reforestation bonds.

### **Municipal Bonds**

At the local government level results were mixed. Baltimore voters approved \$45,200,000 bonds for a variety of purposes; San Francisco voters rejected \$32,550,000 issues for various purposes, including \$8,600,000 needed to complete a new airport, but approved \$49,890,000 new school bonds. Cleveland voters have approved \$20,800,000 out of \$45,600,000 issues submitted. In St. Louis, \$31,000,000 bonds, including \$16,000,000 for slum clearance, were defeated.

Voters of Long Beach, California, approved \$14,900,000 school district bonds, while Cincinnati school district ratified a \$12,500,000 issue. Berkeley, California, school district voters gave the green light on \$7,966,000.

Among other local bond proposals of \$10,000,000 and over, Los Angeles approved \$10,000,000 sewer bonds, while Hamilton County (Cincinnati), Ohio, voters turned down various issues aggregating \$12,000,000.

### **Old Age Pensions**

More spectacular were the results on various state propositions. Great interest and a considerable measure of apprehension as to the future course of state finances resulted from Oregon voters' approval of an old age pension proposal which hikes monthly benefits, widens eligibility and was claimed by its opponents to involve a state expenditure of \$9,000,000 per month. It becomes effective "immediately",

but ambiguities and conflicts in the amendment are expected to result in litigation.

Like interest revolved around a somewhat similar measure in California, which appeared to be winning by a narrow margin. This bill not only widened and increased old age benefit payments, but wrote the name of one of its backers into the law as the first Director of the new system.

Neither of these laws contained any provision for its financing, and both became effective during the course of the current fiscal year, so that badly unbalanced budgets are in prospect if expenditures are anything like the sums feared by the more vocal opponents.

While two west coast states were writing up their annual bills for old age benefits, Colorado voters rejected a proposal to raise monthly payments. Colorado old age benefit payments have for some time ranked highest among the 48 states.

Among other states voting on proposals affecting their revenues or expenditures, Colorado legalized pari-mutuel betting on racing. Washington approved the sale of liquor by the drink, but Oregon refused to do so. South Dakota voters defeated a proposal to separate sales of food and liquor. And Kansas, long noted for its dry status, approved repeal of its 67-year old prohibition amendments and gave the legislature authority to sanction the sale of liquor.

In Texas, voters abolished ad valorem property taxes for state general purposes beginning January 1, 1951, but, since the state has widely used the device of dedicating its general fund levy in specific areas to service on seawall and similar water-damage control bonds, it was necessary to authorize a continuation of the levy in areas where the tax has been pledged for remission to local units for bond service.

## **"Easy Money" Dwindles States Find**

Civic virtue, which has been thought in some quarters to blanch a trifle at the lucrative combine between some of the states and the anxious gentry who follow the ponies, may be pardoned a somewhat grimmer expression as the tote board take is tallied up this year. To put the case bluntly, the race tracks aren't holding up their end of the bargain in this inflation year 1948. Somehow or other, the sporting citizens willing to back their opinion with a two-dollar ticket are getting scarcer, and that in a period when prices and turnover continue to mount.

According to the Federation of Tax Administrators, readers of extremely catholic taste, *The Blood Horse*, weekly publication of horse breeders, has found that during the first six months of 1948 eighteen of 21 major U. S. race-tracks showed a decline in pari-mutuel totals as compared with 1947. Hardest hit was Havre de Grace, in Maryland, where betting declined 29 per cent. At Garden City, New Jersey, the decline was 22 per cent, at Pimlico, Maryland, 17.5 per cent, at Suffolk Downs, Massachusetts, 17 per cent, at Sportsman Park, Illinois, 14 per cent, at Belmont, New York, 13.5 per cent, at Santa Anita, California, 12 per cent, at Jamaica, New York, 9.5 per cent, and at Hialeah, Florida, 7 per cent.

Some of the tracks were making a more favorable showing at their summer or fall meetings, but through June only three tracks showed increases over 1947. Sunshine Park, Florida, saw betting increase 4.5 per cent; Bay Meadows, California, experienced a 7 per cent rise; and Lincoln Downs, Rhode Island, rang up a 28 per cent increase.

The decline in racetrack revenues continues the downward trend shown by comparison of 1947 figures with those

of 1946 (see the REVIEW, February, page 114).

### ***You Can't Take It With You***

Governmental agencies are not usually regarded as objects of affection—nobody loves the tax collector—but the recent disclosure that two small cities in Ohio and Pennsylvania had been named beneficiaries in the wills of wealthy citizens brings to light the fact that such disposition of estates is not altogether unknown.

The two recent beneficiaries were Perryopolis, Pennsylvania, which received \$10,000,000, and Lithopolis, Ohio, which benefited to the extent of \$2,500,000. The Pennsylvania community, with a population of about 1,300, may expend half its bequest outright but must hold the rest in trust to maintain the improvements. The Lithopolis bequest will be used in part to maintain a memorial building in this town of 300, and in part to establish scholarships of \$300 each for every graduate of the local high school.

Spurred by the recent disclosure of benevolence, the American Municipal Association has queried 28 selected large cities and discovered that no less than nineteen of them have permanent trusts or have received large gifts for civic betterment purposes. Five of the cities—Boston, Kansas City (Missouri), Minneapolis, Rochester and Seattle—received bequests within the last two years, the largest donation—Boston's—being for \$1,000,000.

According to the AMA, the largest city trust or foundation in the United States is the New York Community Trust, whose assets exceed \$17,000,000. The Chicago Community Trust has assets exceeding \$13,000,000. The first

fund of this kind is said to have been set up in Cleveland in 1914.

### ***What is Good Financial Reporting?***

Financial reporting by local government units serves a multitude of uses, and many local units doing a good job of reporting to their own inhabitants fail to capitalize on their efforts when they tell their story to outsiders—as when they sell bonds. With the municipal bond market becoming more competitive and bond buyers more discriminating, such failure can be costly.

A good example of a nice job of specialized reporting is that of Marion County (Salem), Oregon, School District offering \$1,500,000 bonds. This district regularly prepares comprehensive annual financial reports, which include detailed operating statements, balance sheets, and relevant data on bonded debt, assessed valuations, tax rates, tax levies, collections, etc. When its bonds were approved by the voters, it was thus in a position to provide data on annual operations for a period of years for outsiders interested. Its regular reports were impressive evidence of business-like fiscal management.

When the district offered its bonds, it prepared a special report for prospective bidders with details on bonds offered, up-to-date financial data to supplement annual reports, and pictures and graphs showing overcrowded classroom conditions and the necessity for the building program. The expected happy results were spoiled by the state voters' approval of the old-age pension amendment, which scared off all bids on Oregon offerings, but when things calm down the district will capitalize on its foresight.

# Books in Review

**Surging Cities.** By Theodore T. McCroskey, Charles A. Blessing and J. Ross McKeever. Boston, Greater Boston Development Committee, Inc., 1948. 277 pp. \$2.25 paperbound; \$3 clothbound.

The publication of this attractive volume was made possible by a grant from the Edward A. Filene Good Will Fund, Inc. It was designed by its authors primarily for use as "a supplemental civics textbook for secondary school students" in the far flung urban area centering on the city of Boston.

General content and style of presentation of the book have been reviewed by a committee of teachers from the Boston high schools and by Dr. John J. Mahoney, that dynamic professor of education from Boston University, who wrote the foreword.

With what degree of enthusiasm it will be received by the boys and girls of the Boston area, this gray haired reviewer is not qualified to judge. He himself has found it a fascinating volume, filled with pertinent facts concerning the evolution of cities and their current problems, which are not always easy to come by when one needs them in a hurry. The text is clear and readable, and the hundreds of photographs, maps and sketches have in the main been so well selected that they add greatly to an understanding of the basic problems discussed.

The book is divided into two major parts. The first presents a birdseye view of the development of cities in general and of the techniques which have been utilized, or are emerging for use, in the urban planning field. The second deals with the problem of re-planning Boston and its environs.

Of the eleven chapters in Part I, three are of almost unique interest to all students of planning, whether they function on the professional level or

simply as citizens. The first chapter, "The Evolution of Cities," deals with the location and structure of selected ancient, medieval and modern cities; the second traces the growth of the urban areas centering on New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago and Los Angeles; Chapter VII selects for scrutiny four cities—Peiping, Paris, Washington and London—which had been planned at the outset, or which have been replanned and rebuilt at one or more periods in their history. The sound scholarship and far ranging professional experience of the senior author are evident in these chapters. The well designed sketches, and the photographs taken from vantage points on the ground or in the air, add greatly to their value.

The chapters dealing with specific current problems, or with the emerging techniques for planning, necessarily ignore the highly controversial aspects of the subject matter. Those professional planners who are at the moment locked in battle on one or another of these topics will no doubt be irked by the over-simplified and balanced treatment at which the authors have aimed. On the other hand, since most of us are still in the primary grades from the standpoint of education for planning, we can profit by a reading of this venture into the field of secondary education.

Planners, geographers and educators, as well as citizens who take their responsibilities seriously, will find this book hard to lay down, once they have it in their hands.

PHILIP H. CORNICK  
Institute of Public Administration

**The Development of Local Government** (Revised). By William A. Robson. London, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1948. 376 pp. 18s.

Most of this book was published in

1931 and 1934; this edition adds material to bring it down to date, particularly in relation to the wholesale removals of important functions from cities of Great Britain by the current Labour government. These losses include trunk roads, civil air fields, hospitals, public assistance, passenger transport, gas (probably) and electricity and, the author says, "I told you so!"

For the earlier editions lamented the resolute clinging of municipalities to boundaries and functions that had become obsolete as units for such services engineering-wise, and rejection of logical schemes for regional organization of such services. Having resisted regionalism, the cities and boroughs now get the more drastic remedy of nationalism and remote control!

Progression to modern and logical units of services in utilities, drainage, etc., has been further barred by the difficulty and expense of getting attention to private bills in Parliament and the smug uncooperative attitude of various central controls. There is no general grant of powers to cities such as would enable the cities to do anything novel and many cities are victims of a tangle of obsolete special legislation.

Similarly the author attributes to the absence of home rule powers the failure of provincial British cities to do for their citizens the cultural and aesthetic things seen on the continent. Ancient boundaries do get altered but not often enough to provide for logical transfers of function from inadequate units of government to larger areas. Altogether a dispiriting picture!

Broadening the powers of the town clerk, who is relied upon to coordinate department heads whom he does not appoint or control, is mildly suggested. The author's attitude toward the American city manager idea is bewilderingly set forth as follows:

"A certain amount of misunderstanding has arisen in recent times owing to suggestions being made that the city manager idea should be introduced into this country, or that the town clerk should be superseded by a city manager, or something of that kind. The friends of efficient local administration would be well advised to leave out of the discussion all reference to the city manager idea, which originated in America under entirely different circumstances. The city manager scheme is not merely a method of administration: it involves constitutional changes in the very framework of municipal government. It is an alternative to other forms of city government—not merely of internal administration—which now exist, or have existed, in the United States. Without a comprehension of the alternative methods of city government, the city manager plan cannot be understood, and since the alternative methods do not exist in this country, it is only misleading to speak of introducing the city manager plan into England. . . .

"In the United States of America, the great majority of city managers are engineers by profession, although when in office they devote themselves to questions of general administration. Engineers, however, have been selected for the job more on account of the popular belief in America that engineering comes next to godliness, that a man who can wrestle successfully with masses of steel and iron can overcome any problem, that the engineering approach is aggressive (in the best sense) and scientific (in the worst sense) and non-political, rather than from any careful analysis of the qualities actually demanded by the work.

"The weakness of the technical engineer in the more general departments of public affairs is precisely his tendency to ignore the human elements in

the situation, his frequent inability to discuss, negotiate, temporize and come to terms with people who are often satisfied with mere verbal alterations which seem to him pedantic. He sometimes tends in short, to treat people like mineral products, just as the doctor in public life tends to treat them like patients requiring treatment. On the other hand, the engineer is accustomed to think continually of the functional results of his work, and for the most part his 'attack' is a positive and constructive one. The lawyer is accustomed to negotiation, to clarifying and analyzing the real grounds of difference, to recognizing that other people have other points of view and may feel strongly if their interests are threatened. He is also often useful in discovering an acceptable formula, a compromise, a *modus vivendi*."

The author is wide of the mark in assuming that most U. S. city managers are engineers and, of course, he is also mistaken in other ways about the council-manager plan. It is apparent, however, that he is better informed on the British situation.

British cities need such a liberating movement for home rule as we have seen in some of our states and the hardships and stupidities of their rusted environment are duplicated in those of our states where cities are still hampered by lack of liberty.

R.S.C.

## Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also *Researcher's Digest* and other departments)

### Directories

**Handbook for South Dakota Municipal Officials.** By Earl H. Stensland. Vermillion, University of South Dakota, Governmental Research Bureau and League of South Dakota Municipalities, 1948. 112 pp. \$2.50.

### Education

**Illiteracy in the United States: October 1947.** Washington, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 8 pp.

**Report of the Temporary Commission on the Need for a State University.** Albany, New York, the Commission, 1948. 56 pp. (Apply State Education Department, Bureau of Publications, Albany 1.)

### Federal Government

**Materials for the Study of Federal Government.** By Dorothy C. Tomkins. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1948. ix, 338 pp.

### Fire Protection

**Out-of-City Fire Protection Service.** Policies and Practices in 132 Major Cities. Washington 6, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1948. 21 pp.

**Protection of High Value Areas.** A Fire Protection Program of Interest to Merchants, Manufacturers, Building Owners. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States and National Fire Waste Council, 1948. 21 pp.

**Reduced Fire Insurance Costs for Public Buildings in New Jersey.** Report of Progress. Trenton, New Jersey State League of Municipalities, 1948. 12 pp.

### Licensing

**Licensing of Coin-operated Mechanical Amusement Devices; Licensing of Coin-operated Mechanical Musical Devices; Licensing of Merchandise and Service Vending Machines.** Washington 6, D. C., United States Conference of Mayors, 1948. 11, 10 and 11 pp. respectively.

**Skill Game—Ordinances in Washington Cities.** Seattle 5, Association of Washington Cities and University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1948. 15 pp.

### *Municipalities*

**Advantages of City vs. Village Government**—Under the Michigan City Home Rule Act. (Revised.) Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1948. 26 pp. \$1.

**Urban Society.** By Noel P. Gist and L. A. Halbert. (Third Edition.) New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1948. xiv, 570 pp. \$3.75.

### *Personnel*

**Effective Civil Service.** A Guide to the Administration of the Merit System in New York Municipalities. (Revised.) Albany 1, New York State Department of Civil Service, 1948. 37 pp.

**State Employment in 1948.** Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 12 pp.

### *Planning*

**Central Business District Greater Winnipeg; Residential Areas Greater Winnipeg.** Prepared Jointly by Metropolitan Planning Committee and Winnipeg Town Planning Commission. Winnipeg, the Commission, 1948. 71 and 60 pp. respectively.

**New Haven's Program for Public Improvements.** New Haven, Capital Budget Programming Committee, 1948. 16 pp.

**Jerusalem City Plan.** Preservation and Development During the British Mandate 1918-1948. By Henry Kendall, Foreword by General Sir Alan Gordon Cunningham. London, His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1948. xi, 122 pp. 250 illus. \$5.50. (Apply British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.)

### *Public Safety*

**Program Kits on Traffic Safety Promotion:** November—Pedestrian Safety; December—Holiday Hazards. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1948. Variouslly paged.

### *Recreation*

**Undergraduate Recreation Curricula in 35 Colleges and Universities—A Summary.** New York 10, National Recreation Association, 1948. 25 pp. \$1.

### *Refuse Collection*

**Garbage and Refuse Collection and Disposal.** By Ruth E. Pike. Boulder, Colorado Municipal League, 1948. 12 pp.

### *Salaries*

**Salaries of Village Officials in Michigan.** Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1948. 20 pp. 50 cents.

### *Taxation and Finance*

**Compendium of State Government Finances in 1947.** By Bureau of the Census. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. iv, 57 pp. 20 cents.

**Expenditures for Federal Grants-in-Aid and Shared Revenues:** Selected Fiscal Years 1902 through 1949. (Parts I, II, and III.) Washington, D. C., Bureau of the Budget, Fiscal Division, 1948. 15 pp.

**Financial Statistics of Local Governments in Oklahoma**—For the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1943. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Division of Research and Statistics, 1948, iii, 125 pp.

**Pennsylvania's Legislature Can Erase This Tax Question.** A Comparative Study of Business Taxes and Industrial Trends in Pennsylvania and Other States. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, Research Bureau, 1948. iv, 28 pp.

**Report of the Tax Revision Commission of the State of Tennessee.** Nashville, the commission, 1948. 84 pp.

**Summary of City Government Finances in 1947.** Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1948. 11 pp.

# Ammunition

The publications listed below are indispensable tools for citizen groups seeking better government:

## Campaign Pamphlets

Story of the Council-Manager Plan, 45 pages (1948).....	\$ .20
County Manager Plan, 24 pages (1945).....	.20
Forms of Municipal Government—How Have They Worked? 20 pages (1947).....	.25
Facts About the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1948).....	.05
City Employees and the Manager Plan, 4 pages (1948).....	.05
Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan, 8 pages (1948).....	.05
P. R., 12 pages (1948).....	.05

## Model Laws

Model Accrual Budget Law, 40 pages (1946).....	.75
Model Bond Law, 20 pages (1929).....	.50
Model Cash Basis Budget Law, 42 pages (1948).....	.75
Model City Charter, 173 pages (1947).....	1.50
Model Election Administration System, 42 pages (1930).....	.75
Model Liquor Control Law, 34 pages (1934).....	.75
Model Real Property Tax Collection Law, 16 pages (1935).....	.35
Model Registration System, by Joseph P. Harris, 73 pages (1939).....	1.00
Model State Civil Service Law, 23 pages (1946).....	.50
Model State Constitution, 72 pages (1948).....	1.00

## Other Pamphlets and Books

American County—Patchwork of Boards, 24 pages (1946).....	.35
Best Practice Under the Manager Plan, 8 pages (1948).....	.15
Citizen Organization for Political Activity: The Cincinnati Plan, 48 pages (1944).....	.50
City Growing Pains, 116 pages (1941).....	.50
Government of Metropolitan Areas, 403 pages (1930).....	3.50
Guide for Charter Commissions, 34 pages (1947).....	.50
Manager Plan Abandonments, by Arthur W. Bromage, 46 pages (1940).....	.25
Modernizing State Constitutions, 21 pages (1948).....	.25
Proportional Representation—Illustrative Election, 8 pages (1939).....	.10
Proportional Representation—Key to Democracy, by George H. Hallett, Jr., 177 pages (1940).....	.25
Reorganization of State Governments in the United States, by A. E. Buck, 299 pages (1938).....	1.00
Short Ballot, by Richard S. Childs, 30 pages (1930).....	.15

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